

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

March—June 1924.

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[PART I & II.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Historical Research in Bihar and Orissa.*

By Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.

My first words on this occasion must be expressive of my gratitude to you for the enthusiastic welcome you have extended to me, and I shall avail myself of this opportunity to associate myself publicly with your activities and to express my appreciation of the importance and excellence of the work you have achieved. It is now nearly ten years ago when proposals were first set on foot for the foundation of a research society for Bihar and Orissa, that a distinguished scholar expressed to me grave doubts as to the wisdom of the intended course. He maintained that India needed no new institutions for the promotion of research in the field of Indian culture; he even hinted that though the newly created province might require a tribunal for the administration of justice and an institution for the spread of high education, the plans for a new research society could be justified only as inspired by feelings of provincial exclusiveness. I emphatically repudiated what seemed to me a radically

*An address delivered, at Government House, Patna, on the 15th March 1923 at the annual meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, under the presidency of His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, Governor of Bihar and Orissa, and Patron and President of the Society.

erroneous notion. I maintained—and my conviction has grown stronger with the lapse of years—that Bihar and Orissa had a special claim to organise a Research Society.

What student of history, on his first visit to the site of the once renowned city of Pāṭaliputra, can restrain his memory and refuse to be carried away to the remote past associated with this hallowed ground. What Delhi was to India in the Muhammadan period, what Calcutta was to India till recent years under British rule, Pāṭaliputra was to India in pre-moslem times, namely, the Imperial city of Bhāratavarsha. Historians tell us that Pāṭaliputra, though a small village in the days of Gautama Buddha, rapidly acquired strategic importance. Bimbisāra, king of Rājagṛha, extended his dominions till they reached the river Ganges which separated his kingdom from that of the Licchhavis, an oligarchic state then flourishing at Vesālī or modern Basarh. Ajātasatru, who succeeded his father Bimbisāra, decided with boundless ambition to bring the Licchhavis under subjugation; to achieve this purpose he not only fortified Pāṭaligrāma, but sent his Brahmin ministers to sow the seeds of dissension in Vesālī. The Licchhavis soon fell a prey to intrigue, lost their independence, and the kingdom of Magadha was extended still further in all directions. Udyabhadra, the son of Ajātasatru, could not but seek for a central capital for his rich inheritance and removed his seat of government to Pāṭaligrāma, which admirably suited his purpose and thenceforth attained fame as Pāṭaliputra. The fascinating story of the growth of this tiny Magadha state, which slowly but surely absorbed the adjoining monarchies and developed into an empire in the time of the Nandas, is one of the most romantic episodes in the history of ancient India, and you are all familiar with its steady expansion by annexations when the empire fell under the sway of Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty. The inevitable, however, came to pass, the empire of the Mauryas decayed, and they were supplanted by the Śuṅgas, who were in their turn replaced by the Kāṇvas. But though dynasties flourished, dominated and disappeared, Pāṭaliputra continued

to be the capital, till the imperialism of ancient India received a serious set-back from the inroads of the Backtrian Greeks. During this period of foreign invasions, no trace of a dynasty of Indian origin, exercising supreme authority in northern India, can be discovered, till we reach the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era when we find the paramount power vested in the Guptas. With this revival of Indian imperialism, Pataliputra regained its position and prestige as the capital city of an empire; but the respite from disorder and tumult was transitory, for before the lapse of a century and a half foreign hordes which devastated the country and swept everything before them, began to pour into India. This proved fatal to the position of Pataliputra as an imperial city, and though after the extinction of Gupta power, the town did not lose all its importance but continued from time to time to be the chief city of a small kingdom, such as that of the Pāla dynasty, it never rose again to the dignity of capital of a mighty empire.

I have referred thus far to the eminence of Pataliputra in the political sphere in ancient India. But, as may be expected, political and intellectual supremacy went hand in hand, and Pataliputra occupied a unique and unrivalled position in the sphere of literature even in the days of remote antiquity. In India, as in other civilized countries, the prosperity and progress of *belles-lettres* have been dependent in a large measure upon royal patronage; and Pataliputra, the seat of imperial government, became the nursery of poets and artists. An early tradition, not by any means of doubtful veracity, informs us that Varsha, Upavarsha, Pāṇini, Piṅgala, Śilabhadra, Vyādi, Kātyāyana, Patanjali, who have been immortalised as profound exponents of such abstruse sciences as Grammar, Prosody and Poetics, were tested and appraised here in the assemblies of the learned. One of the greatest intellects of this period—who has indeed been claimed as one of the most commanding figures in the world-history of political thought—was Kautilya, who flourished in the court of Chandra Gupta. In a very different sphere of human activity we come across the poet Subandhu,

who, as the *Avantisundarikathā* of Dandin tells us, was imprisoned by Bindusāra, the son of Chandra Gupta, but was released when the captor was captivated by the story of Vāsavadattā. It is a moot point with historians of Sanskrit literature, whether this story of Vāsavadattā composed by Subandhu, is identical with the *Akhyāyikā* of Vāsavadattā mentioned by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*. But I must not detain you long with a review of the literary activities of those bygone days; I shall only remind you that Indian art also, if not actually created, was vigorously encouraged through the patronage of the paramount sovereigns of Pāṭaliputra. The most conspicuous amongst them in this as in other fields was Aśoka, who gave a lithic form to the architecture of India and thereby left on it the ineffaceable impress of his mighty intellect. Well may it be maintained that in the past, at any rate, the genius of this place manifested itself in diverse forms of the activities of civilized man and that what was once a centre of political power, a centre of learning, a centre of art, is yet worthy to be a centre of research.

It must be obvious to the most superficial observer that a province which has thus witnessed the rise and fall of successive dynasties must abound in monuments of high antiquity, which serve as so many links in the chain of the history of civilization. You have the ancient cities of Vaisālī (Basarh), the capital of the Lichchhavis; Rājagṛha (Rājgir), the old capital of Magadha; Nālandā, the seat of the celebrated University of Mediaeval India where Mahāyāna Buddhism was studied and expounded; Champā, the capital of ancient Aṅga; Mudgagiri (Monghyr), a capital of the Pāla dominions; and, above all, Gayā, where Gautama Buddha attained the supreme enlightenment in his quest for the Eternal Truth. The remains of ancient civilization, however, do not lie on the surface, and are only rich mines for excavations. Vaisālī and Nālandā have already yielded up many of their treasures, which are interesting as well from the historical as from the artistic standpoint. The work of excavation at Vaisālī appears to have been abandoned, temporarily

at least, on grounds not intelligible to laymen; while the site of Nālandā which still continues to be exploited by the Archaeological Department under the guidance of its distinguished Director Sir John Marshall is likely to rival, in respect of variety and richness of finds, one of its remote predecessors, I mean, the ancient Takshasilā (Taxila), the seat of another famous University. Huge collections of minor antiquities, principally bronze and copper images and seals, are now available for inspection at Nālandā. But I venture to think that the most interesting of those finds is a large copper-plate of king Deva Pāla, which records the building of a monastery and grant of villages by the ruler at the instance of Śrī Balaputra Deva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa, the grandson of the king of Yavabhūmi. If the interpretation put forward with some plausibility be ultimately accepted, namely, that Yavabhūmi is Java and Suvarṇadvīpa is Sumatra, this copper-plate inscription may open up questions of international interest in the ninth century of the Christian era. But though Vaisālī and Nālandā may prove to be rich treasure-houses, full of relics, precious to all students of Ancient Indian History, we cannot overlook that your province includes other sites equally if not more attractive. Orissa, which is comprised within your jurisdiction, teems with ancient sites and ancient structures,—the wonderful caves of Udayagiri, the magnificent temples of Bhuvanēśvar, the celebrated rock inscriptions of Aśoka at Dhauḷi, the religious edifices at Puri and the beautiful temple of the Sun God in the deserted city of Kanarak. These will continue to attract the loving labours of generations of enthusiastic investigators. You must not, at the same time, forget that between Bihar on the north and Orissa on the south, you have vast territory still in a state of relatively primitive grade of civilization, affording an inexhaustible field for pre-historic studies. Your province is indeed exceedingly prolific in pre-historic antiquities. Stone and copper implements have been found in abundance, and the idea once prevalent that while neolithic implements exist in Central and Northern India, paleoliths are confined exclusively

to Southern India, has now been exploded by the find of pre-historic stone implements in different localities in the valley of the Sanjai river and the banks scoured out by its tributary, the Binjai. Of equal, if not greater interest, is the discovery by Mr. Anderson of the existence of pre-historic rock paintings in and near two caves not far from the Singanpur village in the Raigarh State. In this connection it is impossible to overlook the Asur sites of Khuntitoli in the Ranchi District which appear to represent at least two different stages of culture, first a neolithic and next a copper-iron age. I trust some member of the Society will explore the problem, whether these Asurs who have recently been identified with the Assyrians, were the predecessors of the Aryans in India, as has been recently maintained by an Indian scholar. The study of these and other survivals of pre-historic culture cannot be dissociated from a study of the habits and customs of the primitive tribes and peoples who still abound in your territory in various stages of civilization. Ethnology is the handmaiden of Anthropology, and both are indispensable for a proper appreciation of History; an accurate description of these aboriginal tribes, their religious beliefs, their social customs, their clan organization cannot fail to illuminate many a dark corner in the history of our past.

I trust, I have stated enough to convince even confirmed sceptics that Sir Edward Gait, the cultured administrator and the accomplished founder of your institution, wisely made his choice when he decided upon a Research Society for Bihar and Orissa. The work which has been carried out during the last nine years, tested by the most exacting standards, amply justifies the labours of all who have unselfishly worked for your welfare. As an humble student of your Journal, I have always felt that you have created and maintained a tradition for excellence. We all acknowledge with gratitude that in the field of Indology European scholars have been the pioneers, though they have had many worthy successors amongst Indians. But I venture to contest the assertion that indigenous scholars in ages past invariably lacked the sense of historical accuracy. I recall that

Kalhapa, the historian of Kashmir, proclaimed that "*by looking into the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples, by looking into the grants of land by former kings, by looking into laudatory inscriptions and manuscripts, is overcome the tedium of historical errors*". The idea thus formulated might not have been realised by the successors of Kalhapa to the same extent as by scholars from abroad who have had the advantage of detachment, so invaluable to all who are called upon to explore, appraise, criticise and expound the civilization of a kindred race. Professor Sylevain Levi in the course of an address on Ancient India delivered not long ago before the University of Calcutta, maintained with good reason that India had in course of time forgotten her greatest sons and that Europe had given her back Buddha, Asoka and Asvaghosa. The list could have been easily lengthened by the inclusion of other triumphs of European scholarship in the domain of Indian history. Who knew half a century ago the names of Samudragupta, Karnakalachuri, Kharavela and Bahasatimitra; yet they are now familiar figures to the famous schoolboy of Macaulay, thanks chiefly to the critical method of historical research revived by scholars from the West. Brahminical literature, notwithstanding its vast extent, supplies not a word about Samudragupta, that "prince of culture, learned in all the wisdom of the Brahmins, the ambitious soldier full of the joy of battle," that antithesis of the pietist spirit of Asoka, great not in peace but in war, holding an empire over the entire range of the Indian continent and entering a sacrificial protest of orthodox imperialism on the peace pillar of Asoka. But stone has revealed the history of Samudragupta; while metal has supplied his portrait, the majestic tall figure seated on his couch of state, playing the lyre, a high forehead, sunken cheeks, a dominating nose and huge head. Karnakalachuri, the Hindu Napoleon of the eleventh century, to use the graphic phrase of Mr. Jayaswal, stood as the symbol of bravery and victory amongst his contemporaries, the great master of the constitutional sacerdotal law, and the greatest builder of his century. The magnificent

toranas of Rewa testify to his taste, and he is recorded to have built a hexagonal temple twelve-storied high called *Karna's Meru*—all this has been recalled to life by the method of Kalhana. Stone has again yielded a complete record, full of faithful details, of the Emperor Khāravela of Orissa, whose name had disappeared from the annals of our country and passed into complete oblivion, though there was hardly a great town in India in the second century before the Christian era which did not tremble at the sight if not at the very name of his mighty legions. In this very capital his elephants crossed over from Hajipur and rested in the imperial grounds of the famous Palace Sugāṅg. Similarly, stone and brick, coin and paper have responded to the call of the historian and have furnished us with a picture of the policy and deeds of Bahasati Pushyamitra. It would have been inexplicable, if with such a promising field of investigation, so successfully explored here and there, your members had not felt inspired to swell the rank of explorers. I do not consequently feel surprised when on a critical study of the contents of successive volumes of your Journal I come across contributions of the highest value to the advances of our knowledge in almost every department of Ancient Indian History, in chronology, epigraphy, numismatics, architecture, sculpture, philology, sociology, and jurisprudence.

The task of restoration of the history of our country necessarily implies the reconstruction of our chronology; you cannot pile up a magnificent edifice till you have erected the scaffolding, however tedious the task and ungainly the sight. It was thus in the fitness of things that in the very first issue of your Journal, Mr. Jayaswal contributed a paper on Śaīśunāga and Maurya chronology, which re-arranged the dates of events between the accession of Chandra Gupta and the birth of the Buddha and Mahāvira. On a collation and reconciliation of Jaina, Buddhist and Brahminical data, he arrived at the conclusion that the traditional date current in Ceylon (544 B.C.) for the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha must be adopted in preference to the date hitherto accepted by Western scholars, namely,

487 B.C. It was a triumph for the author that such recognised authorities as Dr. Vincent Smith and Dr. Berriedale Keith have acknowledged the correctness of this view and have adopted the new date. We have thus secured at any rate one fixed polar date for Indian chronology. Mr. Jayaswal has been equally successful in his attempt to fix the date of the battle of Kurukshetra and thereby to ascertain the precise position of the Pradyotas in the Pauranic chronology. Mr. Pargiter has acknowledged the value of his novel historical and political interpretation of the Kalinga era, which, in the estimation of the early historians of India, meant the advent of a new political condition fundamentally distinct in character from the past which ended in their eyes with the termination of the Great War of the Indian world of that age. In the region of epigraphy, that branch of historical research which has removed (the impression of) the seals written in forgotten and mysterious letters and unlocked the gates of the past, our attention is arrested by the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Emperor Khāravela. The inscription, which was recorded in the second century before the Christian era, embodies a biography of the king of Orissa from his infancy to the thirteenth year of his reign and the thirty-seventh year of his life. The inscription, chiselled on the face of a rock, has been known and studied for a century since its first discovery by Stirling in 1825; and the numerous historical data furnished thereby have been recognised as of first-rate importance as they include references to the contemporary king of Magadha, the Greek king at Mathurā, the fortresses of Gorthagiri (Barabar Hills) and Rājagṛha, the Ganges places at Pāṭaliputra and king Sātākarni of the Deccan. Mr. Jayaswal has now re-edited and reinterpreted this inscription from a personal study on the spot and his achievement has evoked an enthusiastic appreciation from scholars of such varied attainments as Dr. Vincent Smith, Sir George Grierson, Professor Lanman and Dr. Sten Konow. Numerous and fruitful have been the consequential studies based on this reinvestigation of what, in the long array of Brāhmī inscriptions, can be placed, next to the edicts of Aśoka,

in the same category only with the fourth century inscription of Samudraguṭta. Mention need alone be made of the re-arrangement of the Sunga list, the identification of their coins (known till then as the Mitra coins) and the settlement of the chronology of the Sātavāhana kings. It would not be fair to pass over in silence the work of the same accomplished scholar, whom my University was the first to discover, if I may be permitted to say so without impropriety in the never-ending task of the revision and translation of the edicts of Aśoka. It is the legitimate pride of English scholars—foremost amongst them James Prinsep—to have deciphered the forgotten script of those Kingly Proclamations which have no parallel in the annals of the civilized countries of the world. What emotions move me when I felt that it was in this very town that Aśoka himself composed his sublime message, his ennobling legacy to posterity “make conquest by morality and not by the sword”. It is a privilege to live in an age when this message of Aśoka has been re-discovered, re-read, re-interpreted after the oblivion of over a millennium. It is a privilege, proud and pious, of individual scholars to solve and interpret the text of a message which will be treasured up by humanity through ages yet unborn.

Let us pass on for a moment to architecture and sculpture with reference to the site of Nālandā where excavations have been in progress during the last six years. These discoveries make a powerful appeal to me and are indicative of the position which your archæological monuments occupy in the history of the development of Indian art, and their supreme importance from this point of view can scarcely be exaggerated. The monastery of which five successive strata have been exposed to view has yielded on the terrace of the lowermost layer a wealth of bronzes, carvings in stone and plasters, which furnish the long missing link between sculptures of the Gupta and the Pāla periods. The bronzes especially are of the highest artistic quality, and the small figure of the Buddha inlaid with silver deserves to take a place amongst the masterpieces of Indian art. The excavation has further laid bare a hall barrel-vaulted

with radiating arches. Another feature that sheds light on the art of ornamentation has been brought to light by the four sides of the base of a Chaitya Hall where, in alternating panels, have been strung together mythological figures and geometrical devices. These and many other traits of ancient Indian art and architecture, revealed to us by the Nālandā excavations, have a surprising value even from the standpoint of the most prosaic and inartistic student of Indian History whose soul cannot be penetrated by the luminous rays of Indian art. Not long ago, it was asserted with confidence that India did not know the principle and practice of the radiating arch before the advent of her Muhammadan conquerors. The vault of the hall I have mentioned has demolished this favourite theory. This is strongly corroborated by a stone discovered by Mr. Jayaswal in the Dargah ground at Patna and now on view in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Experts, including your talented Chief Engineer Mr. Bishun Svarup, have supported the view that this stone which is inscribed with Brāhmi letters presumably of a pre-Mauryan date, was nothing but a vous-soir or an arch stone. I shall never forget the keen interest, almost akin to excitement, which was caused at the Oriental Conference in Calcutta when Mr. Jayaswal announced that the art of making true arches goes back to Maurya times and that the arched rooms in the Barabar Caves really contain replicas of arches in brick and stone. This finds full corroboration from the Nālandā rooms which disclose the same details and characteristics. Again, it used to be asserted with full confidence, not so very long ago, that the pattern and *ad infinitum* sharply cut in light and shade was one of the outstanding contributions of Islamic art to India. But the geometrical devices in the Chaitya Hall at Nālandā, which belong to the sixth century of the Christian era at the latest, prove that this system of ornamentation had developed itself, that this method of carving had almost reached perfection, in ancient India, long before she came under the influence of Islamic civilization. I have no time to dwell on the true import of other discoveries made at Nālandā.

But let me add that the modern visitor when he approaches the walls of the remains of the monasteries which have been unearthed feels as if he was about to enter a modern first class edifice—the brick, the joining, the smooth facing, all combine to create an illusion which disappears only when he is told that these are remnants of the old wall, possibly the identical structures which evoked the piety and admiration of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chuang.

It is impracticable within the time at my disposal to make even a passing reference to the many thought-provoking papers which have found a place in your Journal. The intrinsic value of a paper cannot always be judged by the space it occupies, and there are brief contributions which may play the part of the pebble and the brickbat in the hands of the master-builder of the future. No detail, seemingly insignificant and fragmentary, can be safely ignored by the student of history. Take, for example, the discovery by my late lamented friend Mr. Charles Russell and its publication by Mr. Jackson, of the one-word inscription Gorathagiri on the Barabar Hills. Without this contribution, the interpreter of the Hathigumpha chronicle, whatever his natural acuteness and intuitive insight, could not have elucidated the passage about the fortress of Gorathagiri and the siege thereof by the army of Khāravela. To this class of fundamentally important work belong the Jānibighā epigraph, the Orissa copper-plates, the Tezpur Rock, the Maner copper-plate, the seal of Bhāskaravarman and other like documents mentioned in contributions to your Journal, too numerous to specify. Nor am I able to make more than a passing reference to the interesting discussion which was provoked by the theory propounded by Mr. Jayaswal in respect of the two Patna statues now deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. He is in this happy position that the scholars who refuse to accept his conclusions, are not able to refute them. It is a matter for congratulation, however, that apart from controversy, friendly or acrimonious, these statues along with Parkhan of Besnagar and the figure found at Dildarganj by Dr. Spooner and

Professor Samaddar have formed the subject of artistic studies, while a new statue with pre-Mauryan or Mauryan Brāhmī inscriptions has been discovered by Mr. Jayaswal at Sonauth in the district of Mathurā.

In the domain of philological studies, your Society has important work to its credit. Dr. Anantaprasad Banerjee, Śāstrī, a descendant of the great Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyāsāgara and sometime Lecturer in the Post-graduate Department of the University of Calcutta, has grappled with the Māgadhi problem. His papers on Bhāsa and on Dramatic Māgadhi are of considerable interest, and he has now tackled the obscure, if not insoluble, question which faces us in the Jogimārā Cave inscription. His elaborate paper, full of new suggestions, brings out in a clearer light the innate difficulties of the problem; and it is not a matter for surprise that what excited the curiosity and baffled the acumen of Bloch, Lüders, Fleet, Boyer and Jayaswal still awaits solution. On the other hand, the remarkable paper of Pandit Ramavatar Śarmā on Sanskrit lexicography, the studies in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsāyana by Mr. Harachandra Chakladar, and the papers on the Lost Ring of Śakuntalā and Pauranic divisions of India by Mr. Surendranath Majumdar cannot but arrest the attention of the reader. In Numismatics, a subject erroneously regarded as obscure and uninteresting, you have very valuable contributions from Mr. Walsh and Mr. Rakhaladas Banerjee. As Patna has been the imperial seat for centuries, there is no reason why you should not make a speciality in this direction and secure a representative collection of Śunga, Andhra, Kushan, Gupta and later coins.

In the department of History you have an array of valuable papers which might justly excite the admiration of older societies. The History of Orissa by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti, who ungrudgingly devoted himself, amidst engrossing official duties, to spade-work like a missionary of scholarship, will be recalled for many a year to come. The notes of the Bhañja Dynasty and the Orissa Sketches by Mr. Bijaychandra Majumdar are models of impartial and

painstaking investigation. The papers on Sivaji, Jehangir and Aurangzeb from the pen of a veteran scholar like Professor Jadunath Sarkar, and his reconstruction of the History of Orissa from Persian sources do not stand in need of commendation. The papers on Kinship in Ancient India, on Industrial and Trading Organization in Ancient India and on the Economic History of Early India by Professor Jogindranath Samaddar bear witness to his persistent energy which nothing can extinguish. On the other hand, the paper on Town Planning by Dr. Ganganath Jha and the papers on Textile Industry and Sugar Industry in Ancient India by Mr. Jogeshchandra Ray indicate the wide range of your activities. The valuable contributions by Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri and Dr. Romesh Chandra Mojumdar prove conclusively that the activities of scholars cannot be restricted within the five-mile territorial limit of their university. Professor Horne who has examined the History of the first English Factory in Patna and Mr. Hill who has contributed a memoir on Major Knox, bring us nearer to our own times, but their work is not, on that account, any the less interesting than that of the explorers of the remote past. In the domain of Ethnology and Anthropology, my friend Mr. Sarat Chandra Ray has established a monopoly, which notwithstanding occasional incursions by Dr. Crooke, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra and Mr. Girindranath Sarkar has not yet been successfully infringed to an appreciable extent.

Apart from what may be comprised in the category of original investigations, your Journal includes publications of considerable importance to the student of Indian History. Reference may be made in this connection to the *Pārijātaharana* of Umāpati Upādhyāya, which was discovered by Sir George Grierson while he was the Subdivisional Officer of Madhubani in 1879 and has now been published by him. We further look forward to the *Pakrita Sarvasva* of Markandeya from Sir George Grierson and the *Rajaniti-Ratnakara* of Chandesvara from Mr. Jayaswal. You have also published a version of the *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh* of Maharaja Kalyan Singh who

negotiated the epoch-making grant of the Dewani as agent of the East India Company. His account of the Nazims of Bengal from the reign of Zafarkhan is a valuable contemporary historical record of the same class as the Seir Mutaqherin of Golam Hossain. His vivid description of dramatic incidents—how he secured the concession for the British Company, what he paid for it, how he was rewarded, how triumphantly he was laid on the back of an elephant in the town of Patna, all these serve to infuse life into his chronicle, which is written in a style worthy of the best Muhammadan historians whose tradition he faithfully preserved in the composition of his work. I notice further that you have published a portion of the invaluable Journals of Francis Buchanan from the previous originals in the India Office Library, and I trust, I may be permitted to throw out a suggestion for another undertaking in a similar line. It would be in the fitness of things if your Society could publish a complete edition of all the contributions of that modest scholar Principal James McCrindle, who devoted his life in this very place to the study of the action and re-action of Greece and India, the two nations of antiquity which attained the pinnacle of greatness in the domain of intellect. The works of Principal McCrindle carefully edited and brought up to date in the light of modern research, would be welcomed by scholars, and their publication would not, I feel convinced, be financially impossible.

I cannot conclude my observations on your contributions without some reference to the discovery of the Sanskrit judgment by Mr. Jayaswal, who for once has here united the functions of the antiquarian and the jurist. This remarkable document made manifest to us how suits were tried, how issues were framed, how adjournments were noted, how pleadings were discussed, how authorities were quoted and distinguished, how legal and logical principles were applied to concrete fact and how the decree was ultimately passed. The judgment when pronounced was signed by the Chief Judge and was countersigned by the Sabhyas, that is, the other members of his Court. The publication of this remarkable specimen of judicial decision

in this country in pre-British days, deservedly excited curiosity and attracted notice in learned circles here as elsewhere; and Dr. Julius Jolly, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Wurzburg and sometime Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta, placed on record his appreciation of the importance of the discovery. That veteran historian of Hindu Law further invited attention to a Javanese Jayapatra or "document of victory" which showed that the Jayapatra drafted in Mithilā, like the Jayapatra drafted thousands of miles away in a Hindu colony beyond the seas, followed a traditional well-set line. Mr. Jayaswal, however, has not yet been able to discover whether in pre-British times we enjoyed the benefits of interminable series of reports of judicial decisions, official, semi-official, non-official, which assist the advocate in his search after arguments and embarrass the judge in his search after truth. But there is another notable find of his which will delight the student of Hindu Law. Mithilā has been the home of one of the recognised systems of that law, and it is not surprising that when at the instance of Sir William Jones the Governor General in Council sanctioned the preparation of a Digest of Hindu Law, arrangements were made to record the law as administered under the Bengal School and under the Mithilā School. Jagannātha Tarkapanchānana was appointed to compile the Digest for Bengal, while Sarvoru Trivedi was entrusted with the preparation of the Digest for Bihar. The digest of Jagannātha was translated into English by Colebrooke and still survives as a monument of his vast erudition and extraordinary acumen. The digest of Trivedi, which was never translated, faded from human memory and its manuscript has been only recently recovered from his descendants. This, like the treatise on Hindu politics composed by the famous Mithilā lawyer Chandesvara Thakura will, we trust, see the light at no distant date under the editorship of Mr. Jayaswal.

The discovery of these manuscripts reminds me of the rich treasures that lie hidden in your province, a veritable storehouse of literary relics of the past. In the Puri District alone, at least two hundred thousand palm-leaf manuscripts are reported

to exist, while Tirhut abounds in large collections of manuscripts as well in the libraries of great nobles as in the humble abodes of the Pandits. A systematic survey should be organized and thorough search for these manuscripts carried out before priceless treasures are destroyed by the ravages of time.

We rejoice to think, however, that in the domain of Moslem learning, at any rate, the task of preservation of manuscripts has already been taken well in hand by the far-sighted wisdom and munificent liberality of a private citizen, my revered friend the late Mr. Khuda Buksh, whose life-long passion was to acquire and store all varieties of manuscripts with tact and vigilance regardless of considerations of health or money. I can still recall the thrill of pleasure I felt on the occasion of my first visit years ago to the Khuda Buksh Library, where you find enshrined a unique and invaluable collection of materials sufficient to occupy many generations of workers. On the life of the Prophet, you have *Zad-ul-Ma'ad* of Ibn Qyyam a priceless gem, nowhere else to be found. On Hadith, the library possesses a unique collection. No less striking is its historical collection; to mention a few, you have the famous history of Zahabi, the works of Ibn Asakir, Subki Ibn Hazin, Semani, Yaqut. What a splendid catalogue: each a scholar's joy, a collector's pride, have you not abundance of Light? Only, alas, if you would follow light. In Law, too, the Library can win an easy first. It is the proud possessor of Ibn Hazin's work on Jurisprudence, a work of which no other copy exists elsewhere. Equally conspicuous is the collection in science. Nor is the collection of medical works less distinguished, *Zahravis'* work on Surgery if published would, doubtless, rob Europe of many of its boasted inventions of surgical instruments. All this is delightful to hear. It sends a thrill of joy in us, the residents of Patna, you will say. But could you not suggest some lines of study? If you were to ask me this question it would be a legitimate and pertinent question. Yes, I have suggestions to offer to you. In this connection, the first thing that comes to my mind is the pre-Islamite Arabia. *Caussion de Percevel* and *Wellhausen* have

done a great deal to lift the veil but I venture to maintain that they have not said the last word, much less have they fully exploited the field. It is still, if I may say so, a virgin soil. Could you not bestow your attention on this? But a still more fascinating subject is the "Social condition under the Caliphate". Here there is no lack of guides. Apart from the poets Farazdaq, Jarir, Abu Nawas and others of lesser note we have the stupendous Kitābul Aghani, a veritable mine of information. It is the monumental work of Abul Faraj-ul-Isfahani and can be most usefully utilized for a portrait of the social and political conditions under the Caliphate.

Take another subject equally moving, the influence of Byzantine Law and Theology on Islam. Nor shall I omit one subject which has always attracted me—the history of Muslim politics and Muslim administration. Flugel first dealt with this subject, so far as I am aware, but since then it has lain neglected. Only recently Professor Mez has thrown a flood of new light on it, but neither Flugel nor Mez is accessible to those that know not German. Disciples of Plato and Aristotle, the Muslim thinkers were the forerunners of Hobbes and Locke and other European publicists of later times. Witness the works of Mawardi and Ibn Jam'a; I am not forgetting Al-Farabi but he belongs to an older generation. I shall not dwell further on the monumental collection in the Khuda Buksh Library as a mine of information and store-house of learning. In every branch of Islamic study rich, I should say, unique is its collection. Could you not, then, make this Library the seat and centre of Islamic research? How tempting is the field; how full of promise is the pursuit; in literature, in history, in law, in science, in medicine—in all branches rich is your treasure, calling for the seeker to come, to unlock it, to distribute it broadcast.

I trust you will not misunderstand my insistence on your co-operation to promote Islamic learning by all means legitimate in your power. Consider for a moment the magnificent achievement of the British and the Continental Universities in

this direction. I am not here to institute a comparison between the two systems of research much less to pronounce an opinion upon their respective merits. The outstanding fact remains that they have explored every corner of the domain of knowledge, they have all delved and delved deep. There is not a single subject in which they have not been pioneers, and I feel amazed at their stupendous output. Gooch's "History and the Historians" will bring home to you the debt which history owes to them, and I confess that the recent publication of Pfanmuller's "Handbook of Islamic Literature" has revealed to me the enormous extent of the work done by European scholars in Islamic subjects. Consider, again, what invaluable service has been rendered by Guidi to Islamic scholarship by the publication of his Index; we have only to turn to his pages to get at a glance all the references to any subject which interests us or which we wish to investigate. But while we are sincerely grateful to European scholars for the light they have shed, for the results that have followed their labours as researchers, must we never seek or strive? Must we ever yield the lead and hand over the glory to them? Must we never emulate them, but ever content ourselves with exclamations of admiration,—how glorious their find, how rapid their extension of the frontier, how all-embracing their additions to the store of knowledge! Let me ask, in no unfriendly spirit, what people can ever hope to enjoy self-respect in this world who are heedless of their past, apathetic to their traditions, indifferent to their own culture. Moslems at one time held aloft the torch of learning. Did they not collect, translate, study and elucidate the works of Greeks, Persians and Hindus? Does not their historian, Masudi, speak with exulting pride of their passion for studies and their devotion to letters? They need surely no other example but their own to urge them on to their sacred but alas! forsaken duty.

I have made but a slight survey of the work accomplished and have but roughly indicated the task that lies ahead of you. For your success, you require a constant supply of trained and

devoted workers. You have now a University of your own. I wish it God-speed. Work in conjunction with your University, develop Post-graduate study and research, and make it the training ground of the younger generation who will carry on the torch of light when the scholars of the present shall have passed away. For the efficient discharge of your duties, you require further a steady and an adequate supply of funds. You need not despair, so long as His Excellency continues to take a real interest in your work as your Patron and President. We in Bengal have an unfading recollection of what his support of a measure or of an institution meant or signified. You have enlightened and vigilant Ministers who are determined that your Province shall not lag behind in the race. You have many a self-respecting Councillor who, whatever their political opinions, cannot fail to appreciate the importance of a just recognition of our civilized past. Surely, they will generously and warmly support the cause of research. What scope; what possibilities? Workers—surely they will come if the people need them and the keepers of the public purse encourage them.

Cardinal Newman constantly warned against treating learning as a marketable commodity, and that warning may not be out of place in these days of rushing democracy and devastating socialism. Learning is its own reward, and no people can thrive or survive the wreck of time who love not, cherish not, treasure not learning. Let us give ourselves and set ourselves to do our duty for duty, and sacred duty it is to study our past, to unearth our treasures, to shed light all around us, and to hand down our heritage richer and greater than it came to us.

II.—The Annual Meeting.

Review of the year's work (1923). By the Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, Vice-President of the Society, made at the Annual Meeting held on the 15th March 1924.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have been asked to give the Society at this annual meeting a brief review of the work of the year. I do not feel myself well qualified for the task, being rather a man of business than a scholar, but I will try to do my best with the materials that are available to me. I think I can begin by congratulating the Society on the conclusion of a very fruitful and profitable year. In so far as the executive business of the Society is concerned, this happy result is due to the keenness of our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Horne, and our Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Duke, who have given freely of their time and labour to the affairs of the Society. The Council has met frequently and has got through a large amount of work and the Honorary Treasurer is to be congratulated on the soundness of the Society's financial position. The Society also owes a great debt of thanks to Mr. Jayaswal who, as Editor of the Journal, with the assistance of the Editorial Committee has got through an enormous amount of work since the last annual meeting. It is no light task to edit nearly 1,000 pages of a learned journal like ours and Mr. Jayaswal has applied himself to the work with a devotion that merits the highest praise. In this connection also the gratitude of the Society is due to Mr. Mackenzie, Superintendent of the Government Press, who has given the Editor all possible assistance in his work. Last March, when the new executive assumed office, the Journal was four issues in arrears and members were beginning to complain of its non-receipt. In the last twelve months all the arrears of the year 1922 have

been cleared off, while for 1923 all four issues have been brought out. In reviewing the work of the Journal, I will deal first with the year 1923, reserving for the second part of my account the double issue of 1922 in which the first portion of the Buchanan Journal has been published.

The March Journal of 1923 reproduces two addresses which were delivered at the last annual meeting of the Society. The first is an illustrated account of the Nalanda Excavations by Mr. J. A. Page, who is in charge of this work as Superintendent of the Central Circle of the Archaeological Survey. Mr. Page has described succinctly the results of some seven years of patient and fruitful work. The work, I understand, was undertaken at the instance of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, who along with the Archaeological Department must be congratulated on the result of their labours in bringing to light for the first time complete plans of the monastic colleges and brick buildings of the Buddhist period. In the course of the excavations some fine pieces of ancient sculpture were found, and also a notable inscription of Devapala-deva, the third sovereign of the Pala dynasty of Bengal, dating back to the ninth century. The remains themselves go back to the sixth century of the Christian era.

The second article reproduces the popular and interesting address which Mr. Manuk gave us on the subject of Indian Paintings of the Moghul period. Members will still remember the beautiful specimens from his unique collection with which he illustrated that lecture. Unfortunately they could not be reproduced in the Journal.

In the next article Mr. Jayaswal carries the subject of painting back to the Hindu times and makes us acquainted for the first time with the canons of Hindu painting from original Sanskrit texts.

Sanskrit lexicography is a subject which has attracted much attention from continental scholars, and Professor Sharma of the Patna College has reviewed the subject in an interesting paper which brings us up to the decade 1873-1882 when the most

comprehensive of the more recent Sanskrit lexicons, the Vāchaspatya was composed.

On Buddhist Iconography Mr. Vinayatosh Bhattacharya contributes two papers, one of which deals with the identification of one of the sculptures found at the Nalanda excavations.

Dr. Banerji Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit at the Muzaffarpur College, has given us an interesting paper on the dramatist Bhāsa who has attracted the keen attention of European scholars. He has made a comprehensive and critical analysis of the evidence relating to the date of this author and concludes by placing him about the second-third century A. D. In a second paper Dr. Banerji Sastri has contributed a critical study of Bhasa's Māgadhi or rather of the Māgadhi of the Sanskrit drama in general.

The Journal has made an attempt in the present year to sustain the high position with regard to epigraphy, which it had attained in past years. The Jogimara Cave Inscription which comes from Surguja, an Indian State bordering on our frontier, is one of the most ancient philological records of India. It is in Māgadhi, the language of Bihar. German scholars were the first to deal with the inscription, but a new interpretation has lately been given by Mr. Jayaswal, and Dr. Banerji Sastri carries the topic further along the same lines, laying special stress on the philological side. A fine photographic reproduction of the inscription, which, it is hoped, will prove useful to scholars, has been published in the Journal.

A small inscription of the time of King Nanyadeva of Mithila has been brought to light and published by Mr. Jayaswal. This is the first record of this remarkable king whose history is discussed in detail.

In his paper on the Harappa Seals, Rai Bahadur Bishun Swarup has continued his interesting study of the antiquity of writing in India.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar has given us a valuable paper on the last campaign of Aurangzeb, which is marked by his customary painstaking and faithful research.

On the chronology of the Ganga kings of Kalinga Mr. Ram Das of Ganjam has put forward a new view which deserves consideration by students of Indian chronology.

Harshavardhana, the Emperor, who was the host of the Chinese traveller, Yuan Chuang, in the seventh century, has provoked fresh interest of late ; and Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's article in our Journal, coming as it does after the monograph by Mr. Panikkar, maintains that interest.

Mr. D. N. Sen explains the Buddhist attitude on Nirvāna and tries to establish that the European interpretation of the term has not been wholly adequate.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy continues his researches amongst the aboriginal tribes and has given us a paper on exorcisms as practised in Chota Nagpur, as well as a study of the Sanskritic element in the Munda language.

Khan Bahadur Surfaraz Hussain Khan completes the translation of the Persian history by Maharaja Kalyan Singh of Patna, a contemporary of Clive.

Mr. Shibnath Basu, Professor of History in the Muzaffarpur College, has contributed an interesting article on "Slavery in the Jatakas" and I must lastly notice the notable contribution of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri on the chronology of the Sāṅkhya literature and his interesting estimate of its relation to Buddhism and Jainism, which should be of permanent value.

I have felt myself at some disadvantage in making this review of the pages of the Journal for 1923, as the last two numbers have just left the printer's hands and I trust I will be pardoned if there are any mistakes or omissions in my account of the year's contributions.

I turn now to the second portion of the work of the past year, which has had very great personal interest for myself, and I hope I may be pardoned if I linger for a few minutes on the subject. I refer to the publication of the Buchanan Journals, of which the first instalment, that relating to the districts of Patna and Gaya, was completed only in September last, though it has appeared nominally as Parts III and IV of the Society's Journal

for 1922, thus filling up a gap of two numbers which were in arrears. The editorial work was undertaken by our late Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Jackson, who has explained in a valuable introductory note the methods of work of Dr. Francis Buchanan, and the relation which his Journals bear to his district reports, as well as the mutilation to which the latter were subjected when they were reproduced by Montgomery Martin in 1838 in the three-volume publication called "Eastern India". He has also referred to the fact that Sir David Prain has promised to contribute to our Journal an account of the life of Dr. Francis Buchanan which will bring up to date the memoir which he published on the same subject in 1905.

The life of Dr. Francis Buchanan must always possess very peculiar interest for the inhabitants of Bihar and Orissa and for the members of our Research Society, for he was the great pioneer of research within this province. It is a matter of great personal interest to me that his work is now receiving the attention which it has lately received, and will, I hope, continue to receive, till it has been made fully available to the public, because I can claim to have contributed in some small degree at least towards this result. My attention was first drawn to Buchanan's work when I was Settlement Officer of the Santal Parganas and was endeavouring to obtain information regarding the early history of the larger estates in that district, and the ancient movements of tribes and castes which had resulted in the present distribution of the population. I found references to "Eastern India" and to the Buchanan Manuscripts in that fascinating work, the "Annals of Rural Bengal" and in a very interesting little book written by Mr. W. B. Oldham (a former Commissioner of Bhagalpur), called "Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of Burdwan", which in spite of its title dealt mainly with the estate and tribal histories of Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas.

Dr. Francis Buchanan, as every member of this Society must know, was a member of the Indian Medical Service and a former Superintendent of the Hon'ble Company's Botanic

garden in Calcutta. In 1807 a survey of the territories subject to the immediate authority of the Presidency of Fort William was ordered by the Court of Directors and Dr. Buchanan was selected by the Governor General to carry out the work. The subjects of enquiry were most multifarious. The declared objects were to collect information upon the general topography of each district; the condition of the inhabitants, their religious customs, the natural productions of the country, fisheries, forests, mines and quarries; the state of agriculture, the condition of landed property and tenures; the progress made in the arts and in manufactures; the operations of commerce, and every particular that can be regarded as forming an element in the prosperity or depression of the people. A better selection than Dr. Buchanan for the work of this enquiry could not have been made. He brought to the task a mind that was marvellously equipped for the topographical, ethnical and historical investigations covered by the survey. The survey was prosecuted with vigour for seven years and was not abandoned till £30,000 had been expended on it. The original manuscripts of Dr. Buchanan were transmitted to the Court of Directors in England in 1816 and remained stored amongst the official records of the Court till 1838, when Mr. Montgomery Martin was permitted to inspect them with a view to selection from them for publication. Montgomery Martin's selections were published under the title "The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India". In performing the task of selection from the Buchanan manuscripts, Montgomery Martin, who was chiefly interested in the moral, political and commercial aspects of the survey, cut out a great mass of matter which he considered to be irrelevant to the present position of affairs in the East. In reading those portions of "Eastern India" which recorded the results of Buchanan's tours in the Santal Parganas, I was constantly brought up against irritating footnotes which disclosed that certain passages in the original manuscripts had been omitted from "Eastern India" because of their voluminousness or want

of interest. In 1904-05 I took advantage of my first long furlough to make an examination of the original manuscripts, which are still lodged in the India Office, with special reference to the old Bhagalpur district. I found that the material omitted from "Eastern India" was most valuable for my purposes. The largest of the omitted passages dealt with estates and with tribal traditions and caste customs, all matters which are of the most intense interest to the historical student and to the ethnologist. And their omission, I found incidentally, had done much injustice to Buchanan's reputation as an observer. I spent many hours at the India Office in copying out the more interesting of the omitted passages. Those which related to the history of old estates and families I reproduced in my Settlement Report on the Santal Parganas and I believe that some of them have since proved of interest to the Courts. Buchanan's observations on the customs and habits of the tribes and castes with which he met in the course of his travels I embodied in a small note which I published in 1908, entitled "The Aboriginal Races of the Santal Parganas". In the last paragraph of this I put forward the following plea for a reprint of the Buchanan manuscripts :

"In conclusion I would urge upon Government the necessity that appears to exist for the publication *in extenso* of the Buchanan manuscripts. Montgomery Martin's 'Eastern India' is, I believe, out of print. The extracts which I have given from the Bhagalpur portion of the manuscripts show how much valuable material has been lost to the world by the condensation to which Montgomery Martin subjected Buchanan's observations on that district. I have no doubt that similar information of equal value regarding the landed history, tribal traditions, and social custom of other districts might be brought to light by detailed examination of the rest of the manuscripts. When one considers the amount of money, time and labour that was expended on the original survey, one cannot but regret that so much of the fruits of all this expenditure has lain for a hundred years buried and forgotten amongst the records

of the India Office. When one further considers the amount of ephemeral literature that is annually published in India at the expense of Government, it is surely a sad anomaly that this precious storehouse of information should be treated with neglect. If there cannot be a full reprint of the manuscripts, I would suggest that there be at least a publication of the portions omitted from 'Eastern India' with an indication of the place they should occupy in that book."

As Director of Land Records in Bengal I was able to enlist in this matter the sympathy of the local Government who addressed the Government of India on the subject in 1908. I also sent copies of my note to various officers and friends who were likely to be interested. They included Sir Herbert Risley, Sir George Grierson, Sir Edward Gait and Mr. C. A. Oldham, who were all appreciative in their replies and strongly supported my appeal for the entire republication of Buchanan's Reports.

The firstfruits of the appeal was an attempt to collate for publication the ethnographic material in the Reports. This work was entrusted to Mr. T. C. Hodson of the Mile End College, London, but was interrupted by the outbreak of the war in 1914, when Mr. Hodson went to France on war service. Meanwhile Mr. Jackson had got to work on the Buchanan Journals, as distinct from the Reports, and brought their importance to the notice of the Government of Bihar and Orissa in May 1914. It was the year in which the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was founded, and Sir Edward Gait took up *en amore* a suggestion that the Journals should be published under the auspices of the Society. The local Government addressed the Government of India as follows in October 1915 :

"The local Government have recently had before them a suggestion that the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, which was founded last year, should undertake the publication of those portions of Buchanan's Journals which relate to Bihar and Orissa, while Professor Jackson has expressed his willingness to see them through the press and to add a series of editorial

notes based on information collected by himself and other persons interested. The four Journals relating to this province would be published in separate volumes, each of which would be about the size of the new series of district gazetteers. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council is strongly in favour of this proposal and is willing to assist the Society by making a grant for the purpose. The work on which Mr. Hodson is engaged embraces only one of the subjects dealt with in Dr. Buchanan's elaborate manuscripts and it cannot in any way take the place of the complete republication now contemplated."

This resulted in a reference to Mr. Hodson who strongly supported the proposed publication of the Journals but suggested that the publication should include, in addition, extracts from the Reports on selected topics of scientific, ethnological or general interest. It was, however, eventually decided that the Journals should be published by themselves with such editorial notes as Mr. Jackson might be able to contribute.

This brings my account of the matter up to the point we have now reached. The Patna-Gaya Journal has been published with Mr. Jackson's interesting introduction and notes, together with an account of the city of Patna, which has been taken from Buchanan's Report on the district. Mr. Jackson, who is now on leave, has offered to take up next the Bhagalpur Journal which covers the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and the Santal Parganas, working on the same lines as he has followed in the case of the Patna-Gaya volume, and his offer has been gratefully accepted by the Society. He has been in communication at home with Mr. C. A. Oldham, who is greatly interested in the work on account of his long connection with the Patna Division, and we have just written to enquire whether Mr. Oldham will undertake the editorship of the Shahabad Journal. If, as we hope, he agrees to take up this work, we shall soon be on our way to having the publication of the Journals completed.

There will still remain, however, the more formidable work of publishing a complete edition of the Reports and this is

a work, which, I think, our Research Society should advocate with all the influence at its command.

When the Government of Bengal in 1884 initiated the enquiries which have given us Sir Herbert Risley's well known book "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal," the Lieutenant-Governor wrote: "The late Census (1872) shows how rapidly the old aboriginal faiths are being effaced and what progress is being made in the absorption of the primitive races in the great system of Hinduism. At the same time the opening of communications, the increase in the facilities for travel, and the spread of education are tending to obliterate the landmarks of the Hindu faith, to slacken the bonds of caste and to provide occupations unknown to the ancient polity. There is nothing to be gained and much to be lost by postponing this important work. If it is not undertaken now, a mass of information of unsurpassed interest will be lost to the world." Dr. Buchanan made his enquiries 75 years before these words were written and thus obtained an inestimable advantage over later observers, which no one who has perused his manuscripts can fail to appreciate. I think that we, officers and members of the Research Society, should not rest satisfied till we have placed at the disposal of the public this great storehouse of information regarding the early life and history of the province. It is a task in which we may confidently hope that we shall always obtain the sympathetic help and support of the local Government, as well as the devoted assistance of many retired officers who still retain a warm interest in their old province.

III.—The Hilsa Statue Inscription of the Thirty-fifth Year of Devapala.

By Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, M.A., P.R.S.

Its discovery.

Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Rai, Deputy Commissioner of Excise, Bihar and Orissa, and I were deputed, as Presiding officers in connection with the recent election of M.L.C.'s, to the police station at Hilsā in the district of Patna. Hilsā is a station on the Futwa-Islampur Light Railway. Its distance from the Patna Junction station is 24 miles and 15 miles from Nālandā. We reached the place on the 28th November 1923. The Rai Bahadur who had visited the place formerly in connection with his official duty informed me of the existence of a few old statues in a local temple of Śiva. So we went to inspect the shrine situated at a distance of a mile approximately to the east of the police-station. When we reached the shrine the *Pujārī* (priest) was not there; but as the shrine was not locked up, we inspected the statues inside and outside the temple and in the result we discovered this statue lying outside the temple. The Rai Bahadur informed me that he had not noticed it when he visited the place last. As the statue [was an inscribed one, we felt a keen desire to procure it. But the *Pujārī* was not present there; so we had to return to the Inspection Bungalow. Though we were very busy for the next two days on account of our duties as Presiding officers, we did not forget to enquire about Śiva Bhārati, the *Pujārī*, and in the morning of the 1st December we approached him and asked him to sell this statue and another. Though he raised some objection at first, he agreed very generously to hand them over to us, but refused to accept any price; for he did not wish to sell divine images. So each one of us paid him a rupee as an offering to the presiding

deity of his temple. Thus we secured the two statues. I took this statue as my share and the other (a statue of Lord Buddha riding his horse Kanthaka to leave for good his father's house) fell to the lot of the Rai Bahadur.

As to its find-spot, Śiva Bhārati informed us that it was discovered somewhere in the village of Hilsā under the ground and those who found this divine image thought it proper to keep it in the local temple, and thus it came to his possession probably a year or so before.

Description of the Statue.

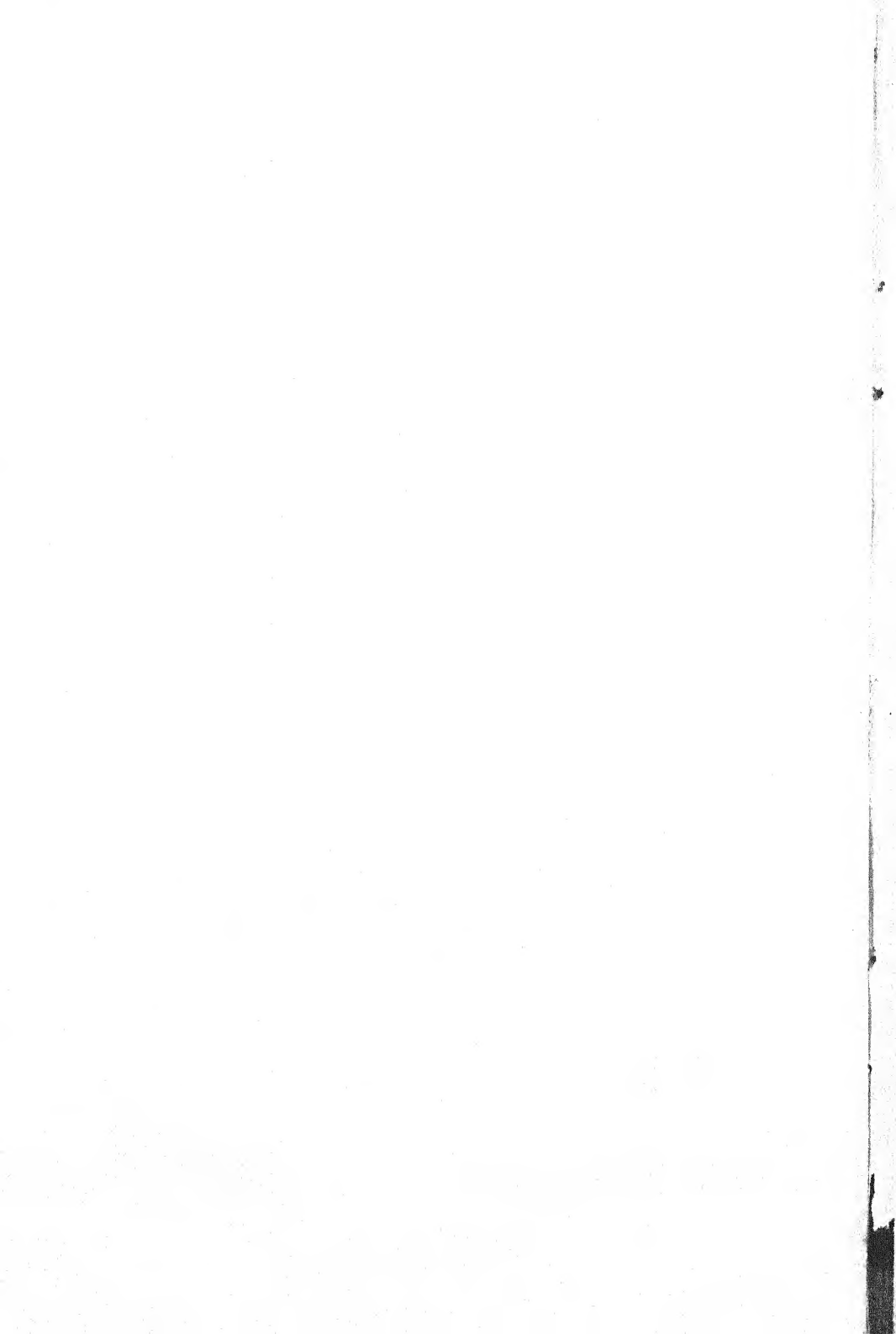
It is a fine Buddhist statue of *Tārā*. The highest length, width and thickness of the stone are approximately 15, 9 and 3½ inches, respectively. It is rather a fine piece, artistically carved in blackstone, the familiar material of the Pala period. The face and breast have been slightly broken. Further description is unnecessary; for the accompanying plate gives a good idea of it. I am indebted to Professor Mukherjee of the Physics Department, Patna College, and to his assistants for photographing it. The inscribed letters were filled up with chalk-powder and gum just before taking the photo and so they appear very clear in the plate.

It is inscribed in three places. (1) Two lines are inscribed over the top of the stone. Inscription in this place is **very rare** and neither the Rai Bahadur nor I saw it. And it would have remained unnoticed had not my attention been drawn to it by my son, a boy of less than ten years, whose meddlesomeness has, now for the first time, produced something good. This inscription is important; for it gives the name of the deity and as such is to be compared to the inscribed labels of the Bharut Stupa. (2) The second inscription in two lines written within the leaves of the lotus-seat of the deity gives the usual Buddhist creed *ye dharmā*, etc. (3) The third inscription in three lines is on the pedestal.

Palæography and Orthography.

The character belongs to what Dr. Bühler named as the third variety of the Acute-angled Alphabet of Eastern India.





It is older than Proto-Bengali and is identical with that of the Ghoshrawan inscription of the same king edited by Dr. Kielhorn (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XVII, pages 307—312). So it is needless to comment on its palæography. As for orthography, the sculptor was rather careless. He had dropped letters, confused श, ष and स and had made various other mistakes. I have noticed all of them in my notes.

The language of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit. *Sākya* occurs in its Prakrit form.

Text of the Inscription edited from the original stone.

Inscription I.

(Line 1.) ओं (1) ओ तारे ओ तारे ओ [ता (2)]रे

(Line 2.) खाहा [॥]

Inscription II.

(Line 1.) ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषान्तथागतोह्यवदत्तेषां च
यो नि (3) रोध एवम्वादी

(Line 2.) महाश्रमणः [॥]

Inscription III.

(Line 1.) ओं (4) सम्बत् ३५ श्रीदेवपास—(5) देवविजयराज्यं
श्रीनालन्दामहावैहारीकस्थ-बहुश्रुत-श्रीमञ्जुश्रीदेवः
सक—(6) पर—

(Line 2.) भोपासक—(7) गङ्गाधरस्य (8) देयधर्मीयं यद्वत्
(9) पुण्य (10) तद् भवतु आचा—(11) र्यमाता-
पितृ—(12) पूर्वा [॥]मं (13) कृत्वा सकलस

(Line 3.) [त(14)] रावो (15) अनुतरङ्गानं व्याप्त (16) इति ॥

Notes.

(1) Written with a symbol. The third and fourth *Oms* can also be read as *tu*. Then the text runs thus :—

ओं ओ तारेतु तारेतु (= Om. Protect ; protect.)

- (2) This त्ता has been dropped.
- (3) वो and नि occur in the original stone. But they are not visible in the plate.
- (4) Written with a symbol.
त्ता was dropped and it has then been inserted below the line.
- (6) सक्क is the Pali form for शाक्य
- (7) The क was originally dropped and then it has been written below स । The letters look like the ligature स्क; but they are to be read as सक्क ।
- (8) स्व looks like त्व in the plate. But the original shows it to be स्व. Its left side has been partly worn out.
- (9) Read त्र for त्रै ।
- (10) Insert an *anuswāra* and read एय for न्य.
- (11) चा is written below the line.
- (12) Read ह for ह्रै ।
- (13) Read पूर्वङ्गमं ।
- (14) Only a faint line showing the existence of a syllable occurs.
- (15) Read राणेः for राघे ।
- (16) Read अनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तये ।

Translation.

Inscription 1.

Om. Offering [to thee O] Tārā. Om Tārā. Om Tārā.

Inscription 2.

“Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause,
The cause has been told by Tathāgata;
And their suppression likewise
The great Śramaṇa has revealed.”

(Kern's Manual of Buddhism, p. 25.)

Inscription 3.

Om. In the year 35. During the prosperous reign of His Majesty the illustrious Deva Pāla. The learned (and) illustrious¹ Mañjuśrīdeva of the illustrious great convent of Nālandā. This (is) the religious gift of Gangādhara, a great lay devotee of sakka (Buddha).² Whatever merit (there be) in it, let it be for the attainment of the supreme knowledge by all creatures having in their front rank the *āchārya* (guru), mother and father.

The Object of the Inscription.

Its object was to record the installation of this statue by one Gangādhara who seems to be a disciple of a learned scholar (बहुश्रुत) named Manjuśrīdeva connected with the Great Buddhist College at Nālandā.

Its Date.

It is dated in the 35th regnal year of Deva Pāla. It is known to every student of History that Deva Pāla, the son of Dharmapāla and grandson of Gopala I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty, flourished in the ninth century A.D. So this statue is more than a thousand years old.

Its Importance.

(1) The latest recorded regnal year for Deva Pāla was 33 as supplied by his Monghyr Grant edited by Dr. Kielhorn (Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, page 253). Hence this new record extends his reign for two years more.³

(2) It is the earliest *Buddhist* statue of the Pāla period. We know of no statue, belonging to the reign of Gopala I, the first king of the family. The only statue belonging to the reign of Dharmapāla, the second king of this family, is the Bodh Gaya statue of the Hindu deity, Mahādeva (Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series,

¹ स्था stands for *Sthavira*.—Ed.

² Read *satke* = in the (holding) belonging to (*Manju-srī*, abbot).—Ed.

³ But we have already got the Nālandā plate of the year 38. See Annual Report, A. S., C. C., 1920-21, p. 37.—Ed.

Vol. IV, pages 101-102). As for the reign of Deva Pāla, the third king, no statue, Hindu or Buddhist, has been discovered before.

(3) It mentions Nālandā and its famous Buddhist convent.

(4) It mentions a learned scholar Manjuśrīdeva whose date is thus made clear.

Different eminent Buddhist writers of this name have been mentioned in the Tibetan Encyclopædia. Mr. Cordier's catalogue of Tibetan MSS. in the National Library of Paris mentions a Nepalese Manjuśrī, an Indian Upādhyāya (teacher) of the same name, a Manjuśrī-kīrti, a Manjuśrī-kumāra, a Manjuśrī-ghosha, a Manjuśrī-jnāna, a Manjuśrī-bhadra, a Manjuśrī-mitra, a Manjuśrī-varman and a Manjuśrī-sattva. I propose to identify the Manjuśrī of our inscription with the Indian Upādhyāya Manjuśrī (the translator of *Sambhara-mandalo-pāyikā* and *Nilāmbaradharavajrapāṇiyakṣa-mahārūdravajrāgnijihvātāntravṛtti*), for our inscription does not add kīrti, kumāra, etc., to his name.

IV.—Contributions to the History of Mithila.

(Continued from ante Vol. IX. p. 310.)

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.

III—Benares-and-Mithila.

The immediate predecessors of Nānyadeva in the government of Mithilā were the Kalachuri princes of Chedi or Dahala with their capital at Tripuri, modern Tever* in the district of Jabalpur (Central Provinces). The greatest king of this dynasty was Gāṅgeyadeva, called Vikramāditya on account of his success.¹ Even the record of a rival, the Chandela king, describes him as the 'universal conqueror'.²

The imperial prestige³ of the throne of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) was shaken when Rājyapala the reigning king made no serious attempt to fight Mahmud in December, 1018 A.C. His submission enraged his neighbours and allies who felt that the emperor had betrayed the national cause; a confederacy under the leadership of a Chandel prince attacked Kanauj and killed Rājyapala in punishment in the spring or summer of 1019.³ It seems that Gāṅgeyadeva took part in it, as the Kalachuri-Chandra is described as sitting respectfully along with King Bhōja (of Dhārā) near the couch

*Pronounced as Tauri in the time of Gāṅgeya as recorded by the contemporary Alberuni (I-202).

¹ स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः । Jabalpur copperplate of Yaśah-Karṇa E. I., II. 3, and almost all other records of the dynasty have it.

² अवहृत जितविश्वः सोपिहृत्पुण्डरीकं मुकलित-रण-गर्व-ग्रन्थि

गाङ्गेयदेवः । Mahoba inscription, E. I., I. 222.

³ V. Smith, E.H.I. (1908), 350, 354.

of Vidyādhara Chandella "that master of the art of war" after the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja.¹ Gāngeyadeva who had inherited a kingdom including Baghelkhand, evidently annexed Allahabad and Benares out of the Kānyakubja provinces, and conquered territories northwards of Benares up to Mithilā where within a few months of Rājyapāla's death he is found ruling. At Allahabad Gāngeyadeva fixed his residence where ultimately he died (1040)². The conquest and the rule of Mithilā by Gāngeyadeva is known from the colophon of a manuscript of the Rāmāyana at present in the state library of Nepal. This was written in Tirhut by a Nepalese Kāyastha Pandit in Ashāḍha Samvat 1076 = June, 1019.³

‘संवत् १०७६ भाद्रपद वदि ४ महाराजाधिराजपुर्यावलोक-सोम
वंशोद्भव-गौडध्वज-श्रीमद्गङ्गादेव-भुज्यमान तीरमुक्तौ कल्याण-
विजय-राज्ये नेपाल देशीय-श्री भास्व-शालिक-श्री चानन्दस्य
पारकावस्थित (कायस्थ)^४ पण्डित, श्री श्री-करस्यात्मज श्री गोपतिनर
लेखोदम्.^५

¹ E. I. I. 222 विहित-कान्यकुब्जभूपालभङ्गम् । समरगुरुमुपास्त
प्रौढभीखूप भाजं सह-कलचुरिचन्द्रः शिष्यवज्जीजदेवः । The date of
the contemporaries leaves no doubt that the Kalachuri-Chandra was Gāngeya.
Dr. Hultzsch is wrong in suggesting Kokalla. (E. I. I. 219)

² See Karna's grants, e.g. in E. I. II. 297 ; Trilochanapāla successor of Rājyapāla
had still territory in 1027 'near Prayāga'. See Jhusi plate I.A. XVIII. 33, 34.
Evidently he is kept out of Allahabad itself owing to Gāngeyadeva.

The Piawan inscription of Gāngeyadeva incised in 1035 A.C. attests the Chedi
rule near Allahabad (Cunningham, A. S. R., XXI, 113). In coming to Mithilā
from Tripuri the route lay through Rewah, Mirzapur (Belkhar and Alhaura) and
Benares.

³ Added in a different hand.

⁴ Ashāḍha, V. 4, 1076 Vik. = 24, June, 1019 according to D. B. Swamikannu
Pillai.

⁵ The manuscript was discovered by M.M. Haraprasad Shastri, Nepal
Catalogue, page 34, commented on by Dr. Bendall, J.A.S.B., 1903, 18. [Lévi
Nepal, II. 202, n., in his speculation on the colophon is misdirected.]

[Footnote 5 continued next page.]

"In Samvat 1076 āshāḍha badi 4, Gopati son of Paṇḍita Śrīkara [Kāyastha] belonging to the country of Nepal living in Ānandapāṭaka (in the subdivision of) Bhānchu wrote this (manuscript) in the auspicious victorious reign in Tirabhukti ruled over by the illustrious Gāṅgeyadeva Mahārāja-dhīrāja of virtuous presence, of the Lunar dynasty, who has planted his banner in Gauḍa."

Tirabhukti was conquered from the king of Gauḍa (Bengal)¹ hence the reference "who has planted his banner in Gauḍa."

His son Karnaḍeva extended his power further east; he made Vaṅga and Kalinga tributary to himself. At Benares he built a most magnificent temple which was called Karna's Meru, it was hexagonal, twelve stories, with variegated windows and four entrances.² Benares became really a second capital of the Chedi monarchy. King Udayāditya of Mālava in his inscription, as noted above, says that Karna with his allies, the Kārṇāṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty sea. His conquests were many and extensive. He aspired to establish an all-India Empire with his seat at Benares. Towards the latter portion of his life he suffered defeats. But his sway over Benares³ and Mithilā remained unshaken. He made friends with the Bengal

It seems that Gāṅgeya in keeping a permanent hold on the territory to the north of Benares was helped by the existence in the Gorakhpur District (the Surayā-pāra) of a cadet branch of the Kalachuri family. Vyāsa was crowned in 1031, i.e. in the time of Gāṅgeya. Vyāsa's son Soḍhadeva was ruling in 1077. The earlier princes of the family had taken part in the wars in the time of King Bhoja. E.I. VII. 85.

¹ P. B., 74.

² E. I. II. 6 n. Mr. R. D. Banerji tells me that the ruins of this temple are still to be found under the modern temple of Adi-Kesava near the confluence of the Varanā and the Ganges to the north of Kāśī Railway station. It still bears the same name. The sculptures are not yet photographed. The toranas at Rewah published by Mr. R. D. Banerji (A. S. R. W. I, 1920), afford a specimen of Karna's or his family's love of stone sculpture which reached its zenith in decorative art in that period.

³ The Jabalpur copperplate of Yaśah Karna was drafted at Benares (E. III, 4, verse 13) in 1122 A.C. (R. B. Hira Lal, E. I. XII. 207, tries to question this date arrived at by Kielhorn but his argument assumes a mistake in the original dating and is otherwise not convincing.)

king and entered into a marriage alliance with Vighraha Pala.¹ We do not know the exact date of his death, it seems to have occurred about 1080 and certainly before the accession of Chandradeva (circa 1090) as expressly mentioned in the Basahi plate.²

His son Yaśaḥ Karna came in conflict with the new Gāhaḍavāla power which sought to reassert the **Struggle for** imperial position of Kānyakubja and there- **Benares.** fore to recover Benares. About 1090 Benares was lost by Yaśaḥ Karna and it became the sister capital of the resuscitated Kanauj. Benares the base on which the dominion of Chedi over Mithilā rested now removed, the Chedi power must contract back towards Jabalpur. Before finally losing them, Yaśaḥ Karna, true to the tradition of perseverance of his house, made considerable attempts to recover Benares and Mithilā. This story is silently told by the inscriptions of two generations. In the year 1177 Samvat=1120 A.C. at Benares in the presence of King Govindachandra and his ministers the village of Karaṇḍa was transferred to the nobleman Vasishṭha, a brahman, by Rudraśiva the Guru of King Yaśaḥ Karna who had given the estate to his guru after worshipping Viśvanātha. Two years later in 1122 we have again a copper-plate grant of Yaśaḥ Karna recorded at Benares ('here in Benares' E.I. 11 pages 2, 4.) Five years later we see Govinda Chandra fully established as far east from Benares as Maner in the Patna district.³ Thus between c. 1097 and 1126 A. C. the result of Gāhaḍavāla-Kalachuri duel fluctuates which may be located in chronology with the help of the following data :
Before 19th January 1097, the date of the grant at Benares by Chandradeva (I.A. XVIII. 11), Benares conquered from the successor of Karna (I.A. XIV. 101), i.e. Yaśaḥ Karna by Chandra.

¹ P. E., page 98.

² I. A., XIV., 101-104.

³ J.B.O.R.S., II. 441.

- C. 1097 ... Death of Chandra, as the gift of that year had to be drawn and sealed by his successor Madana(pala)deva (I.A. XVIII. 11)
- [18 July, 1097 ... Nānyadeva sets himself as king of Mithila.]
- 1104 } Prince Govinda Chandra is making grants on
1105 } the Jamuna and Ganges in the reign of his father, in 1105 near Benares at Vishnupura (an old name for Chunar) (I.A. XIV. 103; EI. II. 359)
- 1107 ... King Madana(pala)deva at Benares (J.R.A.S., 1896, 787)
- 1115 ... King Govinda Chandra at Benares (EI.IV.102)
[Madana reigned in 1109, I.A. XVIII. p. 15]
- 1116 ... Govinda Chandra at Benares (E.I. IV. 104)
- 1119 ... Ditto (E.I. IV. 106)
- 1120 ... Ditto (E.I. IV. 109;
J. A. S. B. 31,
123. Transfer
of Karaṇḍa.
- 21 July, 1122 ... Govinda Chandra at Benares E.I. IV. 110.
- 25 Dec., 1122... Yaśaḥ Karṇa; Jabalpur grant drawn at Benares (E.I. II. 1)
- 14 Augt., 1124... Govinda Chandra and his mother make a grant at Benares (Kielhorn, List, No. 96, I.A. XIX. 357)
- 1126 ... Govinda Chandra at Maner (J.B.O.R.S.II).
- 1127 ... Govinda Chandra at Benares (EI. IV. 14)
- 1129 ... Ditto (J.A.S.B, 561, 119.)
- (For the presence of Govinda Chandra at Benares in 1129, 1130, 1131, 1134, 1139, 1141, 1144, 1152, 1154, see Kielhorn's *list*, E.I.V. pages 16-20)¹
- Date of Kalachuri recovery of Benares.** As to the significance of Karaṇḍa I think we must agree with Rai Hira Lal Bahadur

¹ This reconstruction becomes possible largely on account of the Kamanli (Benares) plates (E.I. IV) which seem to have come out of the record rooms of the Gāhaḍavāla Kings as the plates cover several generations of donors and different donees and grants of feudatories of the Gāhaḍavālas. They were all found on

(E.I. XII. 208) as against the late Dr. Kielhorn that the date of the gift of Karaṇḍa is not known, that the gift might have been very well made before Yaśaḥ Karna lost Benares to Chandra. On that evidence we cannot therefore come to a sure conclusion that Yaśaḥ Karna must have been in Benares a little before 1120. But it is certain that he regained Benares for a time at least once. This is evidenced by the Jabalpur plate and the record that he invaded Champāranya (see below). Nobody invades his own territory. The invasion of Champāranya must come therefore after it had been lost by the Kalachuri, i.e. to Nanyadeva in 1097.¹

To reach Champāranya the Chedi king must have come into possession of Benares. Benares was the Chedi base to step over to Mithilā.

The second recovery of Benares must come after the 21st July, 1122, the date of the Kamauli grant issued from Benares by Govinda Chandra which is edited at page 110 of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV. and before the 25th August, 1122, the date calculated by Dr. Kielhorn for the Jabalpur plate of Yaśaḥ Karna which was drawn and executed at Benares. On

the 14th August, 1124 we find Govinda Chandra again at Benares, for on that date he and his mother make a pious gift (I.A. XIX. 357); and his power goes on increasing east-

wards as observed above. Benares was thus recovered by Govinda Chandra finally before the 14th August, 1124.

the river Asi in the Varāṇasi area. They appear to have been duplicate copies of the original grants preserved in the royal archives. An alternative explanation of this deposit may occur to some, viz., that an ancient epigraphist collector might have been responsible for it, but it is only a possible, not a probable theory. Against the former theory the presence of one Assam copperplate in the deposit must be noticed, which, however, may be due to some unknown official reason. The fact that grants of several generations of the dynasty, almost year by year, coupled with their find in the capital is very weighty in favour of the theory advanced above that they are duplicate copies of the royal office.

¹A Correction.—At p. 308, Vol. IX, ante, in several places 1093 A.C. is put down by mistake instead of 1097 A.C.; at p. 309, 1143 A.C. should be corrected into 147 A.C.

This weakening of the Gāhaḍavāla hold on Benares in 1122 was probably also due to the invasion and success of King Lakshmaṇa Sena who in two inscriptions of his sons is recorded to have posted pillars of victory at Benares and Allahābad (Trivenī)¹. We can, I think, fix the date of this event. It must have preceded 1124. By 1126 (Maner copper-plate) Govinda Chandra's power penetrated as far as Patna; it kept on increasing eastwards as in 1146 we find him making disposition of property from Mudgagiri (Monghyr).² The date of Lakshmaṇa Sena's invasion thus falls in the period 1122-1126, which is soon after the beginning of the era after Lakshmaṇa Sena's name and indirectly confirms the view of Kielhorn and other scholars who date the accession of that Sena king in 1119. Lakshmaṇa Sena had won military renown before coming to the throne, by his success in Orissa. He seems to have signalised his accession by an invasion of Benares and Allahabad which evidently he freed for Yaśaḥ Karna, for his sons do not credit his father with a permanent conquest of the two towns, and we find Yaśaḥ Karna again there in that period. These towns had been very dear to the last two ancestors of Yaśaḥ Karna. The Gāhaḍavālas had been an ally of the Pālas against the rising Senas, Govinda Chandra's grandfather about fifteen or twenty years back had fought on the side of the Pāla king (Madana-pāla) against Vijaya Sena, grandfather of Lakshmaṇa Sena.³ Probably Yaśaḥ Karna appealed to the Sena king whose kingdom extended right up to the frontiers of the Benares Province.

The invasion of Mithilā by Yaśaḥ Karna alluded to above deserves a fuller notice. The widow of Gaya Karna son of

Invasion of Mithila (Champaran) by Yaśaḥ Karna.	Yaśaḥ Karna—Alhaṇadevi—in her Bherāghāt (Jabalpur) inscription says that Yaśaḥ Karna devastated Champaran (Cham-Parānya) ⁴ that is, the portion of Tirbut which would, be reached first in going up from
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¹ J.A.S.B., 1896, II, P.B. 106.

² E.I., VII. 98.

³ P. B. 103.

⁴ E. I. II. p. 11. inscription of 1155 A.C.—चम्पारण्य विदारणोदगतयशः

Benares. Tirhut had been so completely lost to the house of Kalachuri that it was treated as an enemy country by the daughter-in-law of Yaśaḥ Karna nay, by the latter himself. The enemy was King Nānyadeva. On recovery of Benares in 1122 the Chedi king would not have neglected to recover his old province of Mithilā. We may take it that in the period when Benares was reoccupied Mithilā became the objective. Queen Alhanadevi does not intend a permanent conquest of Champaran to be implied: the "devastation of Champāraṇya" fell short of conquest either on account of Benares the base and the route to Jabalpur having come into the hands of Govinda Chandra or on account of check offered by Nānyadeva, or on account of both. The Champaran feat was in reality a failure, and no other inscription of the dynasty mentions it. It seems that the return of Yaśaḥ Karna represents his withdrawal, or rather his defeat by Govinda Chandra. Yaśaḥ Karna's final dislodgement from Benares, and probably also his death, may be dated about 1124-1125. By then he would have completed a reign of some fifty years.¹ With Yaśaḥ Karna the Chedi claim over Mithilā died for ever.

IV.—Balancing of Powers in Nanya's Time.

Nānyadeva was thus free from external danger only about 1125, i.e. over a quarter of a century after his accession. Fortunately for him he had a long rule, and fortunately for him the Gahadavāla power soon recovered under Govinda Chandra. That power was friendly to Nānyadeva and Nānyadeva must have sought that friendliness. Although the settled principle of the Hindu foreign office was to regard the next-door neighbour as an enemy and the state after that as a friend, yet here the case was reverse. This was the outcome of the balancing of powers at the time and the intelligence and right valuation of the situation by Nānyadeva. Uttara Kosala was a part of the Kānyakubja empire;

¹ For his successor we have a known date: 1151 A.C. [EI. II. p. 2]

it was there where the Kārṇāṭa of Mithilā and the Gāhaḍavāla of Kanauj became next-door neighbours. The Gāhaḍavāla would not have the Chedi power both above and below Benares. To see the Chedi province to the north of Benares become independent and to see it continuing that independence was to the advantage of the Gāhaḍavāla. To have Benares as a Gāhaḍavāla town was for Nānyadeva to have a strong bulwark against Chedi. The situation suited both and made both friendly. Again Chandra the founder of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty had similarly a friendly policy towards the Pāla king who was a neighbour on his eastern frontier. This policy evidently was dictated by the danger of the Chedi sovereign finding an access to Mithilā and Benares through Chhatisgarh and Jharkhand. The alliance between the Gāhaḍavāla and Pāla kings brought the Gāhaḍavāla king in inimical connexion with the rising Sena. The Sena, although a Kārṇāṭa, went against the other Kārṇāṭa—Nānya of Mithilā, a friend of the Gāhaḍavāla. The Sena never became friendly to the Gāhaḍavāla up to their end which proved indirectly helpful to the Musalman interloper—rather, incomer, as in politics there is really no interloper. Thus when we have only the Sena and the Gāhaḍavāla, when the duel changes from being one between the Kalachuri and the Gāhaḍavāla to one between the Gāhaḍavāla and the Sena, the Kārṇāṭa of Mithilā is the buffer with the right leaning, not towards his brother Kārṇāṭa the Sena but towards the Gāhaḍavāla. For it is the Gāhaḍavāla who proves the stronger of the two. Had Nānyadeva taken the other course very likely he would have been wiped out and Mithilā incorporated in Uttara Kosala of the Gāhaḍavāla. As late as the time of Jaya Chandra, grandson of Govinda Chandra, we find a son of Nānyadeva in the army of Jaya Chandra. As observed above, the law book Kalpataru¹ prepared at the com-

¹ I have compared the Vyavahāra Kalpataru (in manuscript) with the Vivāda Ratnākara the present authority of Mithilā. The latter is a wholesale plagiarism, so much so, that the resultant difference between the two works is so little that it is needless to publish the V. K.

mand of Govinda Chandra by his foreign minister becomes the authority in Mithilā.

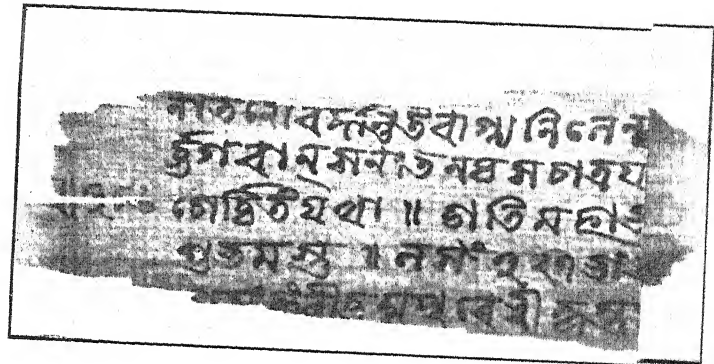
Nānyadeva, who himself was a state-maker, saw great personalities—both great by rise and great by fall—like Chandra Gāhaḍavāla, Madanapāla of Bengal, Yaśaḥ Karna, Vijaya Sena, Govinda Chandra and Lakshmaṇa Sena. He had to deal with them. It was a life amidst political storms and earthquakes. It is to his great credit that he came out successful. Without a long reign he could not have given life to the Mithilā state. At the time of his death, *Circa* 1133 A.C., Govinda Chandra was still pushing on eastwards.

As stated above, about 1171 a son of Nānya was with the Kānyakubja king. Probably it was in the time of Nanya's grandson Narasimhadeva (1174-1205) whom the Mithilā tradition describes as a weak monarch, as the loser of supremacy over Nepal, that Mithilā leaned towards the Sena power and it would be then that the Lakshmaṇa Sena era would come in to vogue in Mithilā.

¹A good physical proof of this is the Nepal manuscript of the (Kṛitya) Kalpataru, śrāddha-kāṇḍa, dated Samvat 1233=1176 A.C. written in Nāgarī. (M.M. Haraprasad Sastri, Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts, Nepal, II. 106.) This is a copy made only a generation after Govinda Chandra and Nānyadeva brought into Mithilā and Nepal from Benares or neighbourhood as its script shows. For the great influence of the work in Mithilā see M. Chakravarti, J.A.S.B., 1915, 357, and the several works of Chandraśekhara where his indebtedness is avowed.

[illegible]

MANUSCRIPT OF THE KARNA



J. B. O. R. S., 1921.

P. 3

1921

V.—Hṛidaya-Nārāyaṇa of Mithila.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.

Dr. Bendall omits from his list of the kings of Eastern Tirhut¹ the name of *Hṛidaya-Nārāyaṇa*, though he notices in a footnote that his existence was admitted by Vidyapati and the Chronicle. I am glad to find a piece of evidence which places the fact of this prince's reign beyond doubt.

In the year 1920 I purchased a manuscript of the Karna-Parvaṃ of the Mahābhārata brought to me from the district of Darbhanga for the Research Society. The manuscript is one of the oldest copies of the Mahābhārata and is primarily valuable as such. It is dated 327 "La. Samvat", i.e. Lakshmaṇa Sena era, *Bhādra sudi 10, Sunday*, which corresponds to Sunday the 20th August, 1447 A. D.²

As the copyist records in the colophon, on that date *Mahārājadhīrāja Śrīmān* (the illustrious) *Hṛidaya-Nārāyaṇa* was ruling. I give a photographic reproduction of the colophon. The manuscript was copied in Tapā Hāṭī which is still the chief parganā in the estate of the Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga.

¹ C. Bendall, *History of Nepal and Surrounding Kingdoms, (1000-1600 A.D.) compiled chiefly from Manuscripts lately discovered*. J.A.S.B., 1903, 31.

² On the era see Kielhorn, E.I., I. 306, fn. 3. Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai has kindly calculated the date for me. He writes :—"Fort St. George, 23rd February 1924. Dear Mr. Jayaswal,—The formula for the Lakshmaṇa Sena era from A.D. 1119 to A.D. 1551 is according to Kielhorn, La. year=A.D. year minus 1119 and the La. year is an expired year beginning from Su. 1, Kārttika. Consequently La. year 327 would begin on Su. 1 Kārttika A.D. 1119+327= A.D. 1446 and Bhādrapada Su. 10 of that year would have to be looked for in the European year A.D. 1446-47 and it would be *Sunday* the 20th August 1447 when Sudi 10 began at '42 of day ending next day at '32 or 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise."

Hṛidaya-Nārāyaṇa, according to the chronicles of Mithilā kept by the *Panjyārs*, succeeded *Viśvās-a-devī*, the learned queen of Mithilā, who had come to the throne on the death of her husband *Padma-Siṃha*.³ A few books of her reign have been noticed during our search for manuscripts.

Hṛidaya-Nārāyaṇa is a *virūḍa* and the personal name was *Dhīra Sīṃha*.⁴ He was succeeded by his younger brother *Bhairava Siṃha* called *Hari-Nārāyaṇa* during whose reign a manuscript giving the corresponding date of 1496 A.D. was copied.⁴

Thus we have an interval of at least 49 years (1447-1496) covered by these two reigns. A known date in the reign of Dhīra-Siṃha, Hṛidaya-Nārāyaṇa, brings us a step nearer the last date of Vidyāpati who wrote his last work *Durgā bhakti tarāṅgiṇī* under Hṛidaya-Nārāyaṇa.⁵

³ Trierson, *On Some Mediaeval Kings of Mithilā*, I.A., 1899, 58.; J.A.S.B., 1903, 31, (n.)

⁴ Ibid. Bendall, 1903, J.A.S.B., 31.

⁵ M. Chakravarti, J.B.A.S., 1915, 424, points out that Vachaspati, Madhuvādana Misra and Gadādhara mention this king in their books. Mr. Chakravarti says (ibid. 425, 126 n.) that M.M. Haraprasad Sastri found a manuscript written in the reign of *Dhīra Siṃha* in the year 321 of Lakshmana-Sena-deva, i.e. about 6 years earlier than the Mahābhārata manuscript. But I have not come across a notice of the manuscript in any catalogue of M.M. Haraprasad Shastri. The *Virūḍa* (*Kaṇṣa-Nārāyaṇa*) given there is wrong (unless it is assumed that in L. 321 *virūḍa* had not been fixed). Mr. Chakravarti works out the *tīthi* (*Karttika amāvāsya*, Śani) to correspond with the 18th October (Saturday) 1438 A.D. But La. 321 cannot be 1438.

VI.—Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, 1653-1707.

By Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

Muhammad Azam was the only one among Aurangzeb's five sons who escaped the prison or exile. Indeed, for many years he was his father's special favourite, if we except the Emperor's unreasoning dotage on Kam Bakhsh, the spoilt child of his old age.

Azam (born in 1653) was the son of Dilras Banu, a lady of the Persian royal family, and, therefore, after the rebellion and flight of his younger full brother Akbar, he remained as the only son of Aurangzeb who could boast of the purest blood, because his half brothers, Muazzam and Kam Bakhsh¹ were the sons of Hindu mothers. [*Storia*, ii. 394.] Azam had a profound contempt for Muazzam and used to call him a grocer (*bania*) and a coward. Kam Bakhsh was beneath his notice. For, Azam had a haughty and imperious spirit and an impetuous rage which made him despise all obstacles and rush blindly into every danger, throwing sober advice and prudent consideration to the winds. When roused to anger he used to roll up his sleeves like a wrestler.²

In his boyhood he had been petted by his aunt Raushanara, and after his marriage with Dara's daughter he became the favourite of his other aunt, Jahanara, who had brought up his wife as her foster-child. Aurangzeb, too, liked him above his other sons, for his manliness, courage, intelligence (when not clouded by passion), and power of command. In January 1669, Azam, then 15½ years of age, was married to Jahanzeb Banu, the daughter of Dara Shukoh, amidst the most splendid

¹ Kam Bakhsh's mother, Udaipuri Begam, was a Circassian, according to one account.

² Iradat Khan.

rejoicings. Aurangzeb throughout life showed marks of exceptional love to these two and to their eldest son Bidar Bakht,—a gallant, discreet, and ever successful general,—on all three of whom he used to lavish his gifts. He probably hoped thus to atone for his cruelty to his murdered elder brother, Dara.

From the age of twenty-two, Azam was trained in war and administration by being sent away to govern provinces, such as Multan (1676), Bihar (1677) and Bengal (1678). From the last of these he was recalled next year to aid his father in the Rajput war. The prince responded to the call with his resistless ardour. Leaving Dacca on 12th October 1679, he travelled day and night. "After midnight the prince entered a *palki* and slept in it [while it was being carried]. His chief officers attended him by turns. From dawn to midday he rode on horseback, so that not more than two or three of his retinue could keep up with him when he arrived at the camping-ground ; the rest dropped in afterwards. At Patna he left his baggage, harem and stores with orders to follow him slowly. His chief wife, Jahanzeb, accompanied him from Patna to Benares, which was traversed in seven days. But here she too was left behind to be escorted to Delhi, while Azam and Bidar Bakht, slenderly attended, made a rapid march on post-horses and reached Mandal (in Mewar) from Benares in twelve days, having done 140 miles in the last day (16th December 1679). Only twelve troopers, four footmen, one *chobdar*, one surveyor, and two time-keepers had been able to keep with him." [*M.A.* 183; *Madras Diar*, 22nd October 1679.]

This rapid journey across the breadth of Northern India was not without adventures, one of which we describe in the words of the Court historian : " One day while the prince and Bidar Bakht were riding on post-horses, with no other escort than God, the Shahzada felt very thirsty. When they reached a well near a village, a water carrier offered him a cup of water, for which the prince gave him two gold coins. The wretch, on seeing him, thought that he was a mace-bearer of the Court carrying a quantity of gold coins. Then he

shouted and barred the road and rushed up threatening violence to the prince, who was about to ride past him in disregard. The prince shot him through the heart with an arrow and rode away with his train. When one of his officers reached the place sometime after, he recognised the arrow as his master's, cut off the villain's head and took the arrow away with himself..... After this incident the prince ordered some bits of uncoined gold and small gold coins as well as copper pice and *cowris* to be always kept in his pocket..... Nowhere was there time to cook a regular meal for him during his short halts, except one day at a qazi's house. He usually lived on dry bread and fruits and fried barley. One day the Shahzada expressed a desire for *khichri*. The attendants went to a serai, cooked it, and served it on an old used dish of wood. Both father and son were hungry, but the prince after looking at the dirty plate refused to taste it and passed it on to his son, who also rejected, it. The prince consoled him by saying that, God willing, they would get food from the Emperor's own table in a few days." [M.A. 183-185.]

Thereafter, Muhammad Azam commanded an independent army in Rajputana and the Deccan, being his father's right-hand man in these wars, as Muazzam was too tame in spirit and a failure in all his military undertakings.

In January 1680, when the Emperor marched towards Udaipur, Azam went in advance of him from the Debari pass and occupied the Sisodia capital. In March he left the city with the Emperor and returned to Ajmir, from which he was sent to take charge of the army in the Chitor district, relieving Akbar who was transferred to Marwar (end of June). Here he was joined by Dilor Khan from the Deccan. A year later, while Azam was encamped near the Raj-samudra lake, the new Maharana, Jai Singh, interviewed him and made peace with the Emperor through his mediation. [M.A. 193, 208-209.]

Soon afterwards (26th July 1681) he was married to Shahar Banu (Padishah Bibi),¹ the sister of the Bijapur king, Sikandar Adil Shah.

¹ M. A. 210. But Akbarat carelessly describes her as Raj Sultana, the wife of Kam Fakhs.

On 31st July Azam was sent to the Deccan in advance of his father, after being invested with the high title of *Shah-i-ali-jah* (King of Exalted Dignity) and given many rich presents. [M.A. 211.] Next year, after the Emperor himself had reached Aurangabad, Prince Azam was sent southwards (14th June 1682) to invade Bijapur territory. The struggle was long and desultory, and he could achieve nothing as his forces were insufficient for dealing a crushing blow at the Adil Shahi monarchy. At the end of June 1683 he was summoned by the Emperor, and arrived at Aurangabad very promptly by making another of his favourite forced marches in light kit and slender escort, regardless of rain, mud and the privations of such a journey. A grand welcome was accorded to him on his arrival. The whole Court was assembled to do him honour; his overjoyed father gave him room in his own tent and food from his own table, and heaped upon him jewels and other gifts. [M. A. 230.]

Two months afterwards (20th August 1683) Azam was sent away to lead an army against the Bijapur frontier, and at the end of October after another visit to the Emperor, he was transferred to the command of the Nasik district. It was probably during this interval that he passed under a temporary cloud of suspicion.

From Ishwardas's memoirs, a rather late and partly traditional authority for such early events, we learn that in 1671 Mir Khan, then governor of Allahabad, became a partisan of Prince Muhammad Azam and incited him to futile plans [of rebellion], and that the Emperor punished the Khan with dismissal and attachment of his property (61*6*). The official record is silent about the incident; it only mentions Mir Khan's removal from his governorship without stating the reason for it. [August 1671, M.A. 110.] The removal could hardly have been by way of punishment, as Mir Khan was given the more important vicereignty of Malwa next year. [October 1672, M.A. 120.]

Equally incredible is the story told by the gossip Manucci (*Storia do Mogor* ii. 394) that Azam was arrested and locked up in the palace and there he remained a whole year getting no wine to drink, and that he was released after his marriage with Dara's daughter, which took place in January 1669.

Ishwardas (f. 17) tells another tale of a projected rebellion in 1683 which probably had some element of truth in it, as it is mentioned by some other contemporary writers too. He says that the prince paid a midnight visit to the tent of Dilir Khan, his chief general, and spent four hours in private talk with him. Spies reported the fact to the Emperor whose suspicion was roused, so that he removed the prince from the command of the expedition and summoned all his officers to Court. Azam in anger resigned all his posts, disbanded his troops, and shut himself up in his house, refusing to see anybody. Then the Emperor visited him and pacified his mind with soothing speeches. Dilir Khan took poison to avoid the Emperor's wrath. Bhimsen (i. 180) more briefly says: "The Emperor felt a suspicion against prince Azam (then at Ahmadnagar) and summoned him and Dilir Khan, but they delayed coming. Dilir fell under the royal punishment."

Much of the above account is mere bazar gossip. We only know for certain that in August 1683 Muhammad Hadi (a son of Mir Khan) was brought under arrest from Azam's camp to the Emperor's and, after some days spent in the custody of two police officers (probably in investigation and torture), was thrown into prison. [*M.A.* 237.] Dilir Khan died about 20th September, by poison as the vulgar believed; and Azam came to his father's Court, for the second time in two months, towards the end of October. [*M.A.* 230, 239.] If he was under any suspicion at the time, it must have been promptly removed.

After the Emperor has reached Ahmadnagar (November 1683), Azam was transferred from Nasik in the north

to Bahadurgarh in the south (February 1684). From this base he invaded Bijapur territory, and was checked for a long time by the brave Deccani general Sharza Khan, who is said to have inflicted a severe defeat on the prince's troops in August. But during the earlier months of the next year (1685), Azam penetrated into the south-western province of Bijapur, i.e., Western Karnatak, and there captured Gokak, Hubli, Dharwar, Gadak, Kopal, and even Bankapur and Karwar.

When the siege of Bijapur began in April 1685 the prince took post on the Tungabhadra river to prevent any relief coming to the enemy from the south. He was next placed in supreme command of the siege, and arrived before the Bijapur fort, dismounting at the Begam Hauz south of it, on 14th June 1685. A fortnight later he came nearer the city and began to advance his trenches, raise gun platforms, and lay mines.

But the Bijapuris offered an able and obstinate defence. In addition, a severe famine broke out in the Mughal camp, as the roads were closed to grain convoys by the Maratha allies of Bijapur and the flooded streams "Grains sold at Rs. 15 a seer, and that too in small quantities... No food came from any side. The soldiers were greatly weakened and many of them died."

Aurangzeb (then at Sholapur) saw no other means of saving his son than by ordering him to retire from Bijapur. The prince held a council of war, at which all his officers voted for a retreat. But Azam had inherited from his father the bravery and firmness of the victor of Khajwa. Turning to his officers he exclaimed, "You have spoken for yourselves. Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam and his two sons and Begam will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life left to him. After my death His Majesty may come and order my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." Then the council of war cried out with one voice "Our opinion is the same as your Highness's." [*M.A.* 263-264.]

On hearing of this Spartan resolution of his son, Aurangzeb sent 5,000 pack-oxen laden with grain under escort of Firuz Jang, who successfully fought his way to the famished camp before Bijapur (October 1685), and thus saved the prince. The Mughal position now improved. [*M.A.* 265-266; *K.K.* ii. 317.]

Azam was the leading commander at the siege of Bijapur though its final capitulation was negotiated by Firuz Jang. He also joined the siege of Golconda (1687) in its later stages and was the first Mughal general to enter that fort on its fall. He was next employed in conquering the possessions of the late Bijapur dynasty in the Bombay Karnatak. Here he captured Belgaon, the leading fort of the province (about April 1688), which was named Azamnagar in honour of him. [*M.A.* 315.]

In December he was again sent against Shambhuji into the North Puna district (Chakan), but achieved nothing decisive there. Then, when Kam Bakhsh was sent to the Madras Karnatak, Azam was posted for a year (December 1691 to December 1692) in the Berar country to overawe the chief of Wasingera. On the disastrous retreat of the Mughals from before Jinji (January 1693) Azam was pushed on to Kadapa, to guard the line of retreat of this army in Madras.

Here, in 1693, he had a severe illness. Three years earlier his physician, Masum Khan, had warned him that he would develop dropsy unless he took medicine regularly, followed a strict regimen, and abstained from the things which cause that disease. But the prince had paid no heed to his advice, and in April 1693 he was attacked by dropsy and his limbs went on swelling to an alarming extent. His doctors plied all their art, the prince regulated his diet strictly; but it was too late, and nothing seemed to be able to arrest the disease. As he tells the story, "One night all gave up the hope of my recovery and expected my skin to burst. My wife, eldest son and daughters and some attendants of the harem, who were surrounding my couch, were half dozing like me, when the luminous

vision of a 'man with wheat-coloured beard and moustaches appeared at the foot of my bed and facing me said, 'Up to this time the disease has not abated at all. Repent sincerely, vowing never to relapse into sin, and God will give you quick recovery'.....I repented in the terms dictated by him and immediately felt ease of body, and he vanished. I then awoke the Begam and the other people and gave them the glad news of my recovery By the next morning I was greatly relieved and nearly all the swelling (literally, seven parts of it) had disappeared.....On the second day I received a letter from a darvish of Adoni that he had a vision of the Khalif Ali,¹ who had told him 'To-night I have given the prince (holy) dust and begged of God for his recovery. He will speedily recover. Have no doubt about it.' [M.A. 362—364.]

Meantime, the Emperor on hearing of his son's illness, had sent a *palki* with glass windows to bring him with comfort and care, and his Court physician and a high grandee to attend on him during the journey. The prince accompanied by two of his sons was brought to his father's camp at Galgala on 22nd October. "As he had not fully recovered yet, the Emperor wished to be both physician and nurse to him. Azam Shah was lodged in a tent (specially) set up for him close to the Hall of Private Audience. The Emperor daily visited the prince and partook of the sick-diet with him and Zinat-unnessa Begam. And that was the only food which the two took till the prince recovered On 23rd December, Muhammad Azam (on recovery) came to the Private Audience Chamber, sat down before the Emperor, and thus filled him with gladness." [M.A. 361—362.] After he had fully regained his health, there was much feasting and alms-giving. His chief officers

¹ Azam was afterwards suspected of being a Shia. We learn from Khafi Khan (ii. 439) that Mustafa Khan Kashi, who had the greatest influence over this prince, was ordered by Aurangzeb to be expelled from Azam's camp and afterwards sent to Mecca. On his return he lived at Aurangabad like a faqir and wrote an index to the Quran, but failed to regain the Emperor's good graces. Was it on a suspicion of heresy?

spent much out of their own pockets in celebrating their beloved master's escape from death. His Begam sent Rs. 60,000 as a present to Najaf and Karbala. One lakh and twenty thousand rupees were distributed to the poor of Mecca, Medina and other holy places. The imperial physician was given a purse of 2,000 gold pieces and a promotion of one thousand in rank, besides many presents.

This illness endeared him still more to his father. For over two years afterwards Azam was kept at Court.

In 1687 Muazzam (or Shah Alam), the eldest surviving son of Aurangzeb, had been thrown into prison for secret negotiations with the enemy at the siege of Golkonda. [*Hist of Aur.* iv. 362—365.] The disgrace of this prince had been Muhammad Azam's opportunity, and he had been confidently looking forward to being publicly declared heir to the throne. But in 1694, Aurangzeb decided to release Shah Alam from prison and appoint him again to a provincial viceroyalty and the command of an army. This was a set-back to Azam's ambitious hopes, and he was at no pains to conceal his anger and disappointment at the elevation of his rival. It was the popular belief in the camp, and was probably also the apprehension of the Emperor, that Azam in his despair of getting the succession would either make a sudden attack upon his elder brother or even rise in rebellion against his father.

In this connection Khafi Khan tells the following characteristic story (ii. 407-410) :—Wild rumours were spread by idle talkers through the imperial camp that Prince Azam Shah wanted to attack his father and proclaim his own independence, while babblers in the prince's camp expressed the belief that the Emperor would arrest Azam by surprise. But Aurangzeb wrote to Azam inviting him to meet him on a hunting trip with only an escort of 400 or 500 troopers and his two sons. He ordered a small hunting tent to be pitched outside on a low ground where his army would be out of sight; at the same time the provosts of the army were directed not to let the common people and sight-seers assemble there. On reaching

this tent, the Emperor again sent to Azam to say that the place of encampment was too small, and therefore he should not bring more than 300 troopers with him. As soon as the prince had started with this escort, a fresh order reached him to bring only 200 men ; then, when he had advanced a few steps another message brought by a slave reduced the prince's escort to a hundred. Orders of this nature came in rapid succession, till at last when the prince arrived near the tent, the slave Jamal brought the Emperor's message, "The game that has been driven up for being shot might take fright, as the crowd is too large and the field too narrow. Don't bring with yourself more than three equeries, but send the rest away."

"When Azam Shah, with his sons, Wala Jah and Ala Tabar, arrived near the Emperor, and the last mentioned had a [loaded] musket with lighted match in his hand, the marshals so managed the thing that only two equeries could enter the place, so that there was no equery to hold the horse of Ala Tabar. In these circumstances the colour left the face of Azam Shah, and he felt himself about to perish in the snare of calamity, and then Mukhtar Khan conveyed to him the order that the three should come leaving their arms outside. This alarmed the prince still more. Mukhtar Khan tried to reassure him and led him in. At the interview, Azam, according to etiquette, walked round the Emperor twice, and presented *nazar* and *visar* (propitiatory alms) to him. Aurangzeb in extreme love clasped him tightly in his embrace, handed his own musket to the prince, and asked him to fire it at the game. Then he brought him to the prayer-room [of the tent], ordered him to sit down, and professing to feel hot and uncomfortable asked how the prince was feeling.

"As it was rumoured that the prince had put on a coat of mail under his vest the Emperor asked for a cup of *argaja* (scent), and on the pretext of giving him ease and cooling his body, ordered him to take off his coat, and rubbed the essence on his body! Next, he unsheathed his sword, which he had laid

down before his throne, praised it saying that it had come to him from Babar's time, and handed it to prince Azam. The prince's hand began to shake! After due courtesy, he examined the sword and wished to return it to his father; but the Emperor graciously presented it to him, and addressed him a few words full of preaching and advice, hinting that he had set the prince free after getting him into his claws, and that as the prince's family had heard of the interview and were sunk into the greatest anxiety and despair for his safety, he ought to depart soon. Then he sent Azam away with a robe of honour and jewels. It is said that so long as the news of the prince getting leave to return did not reach them, Jani Begam [Jahanzeb Banu] his favourite wife, and other begams and servants of his harem, being filled with utter despair, were wailing and lamenting, and when they heard of his liberation from such a danger the colour returned to their faces. A story runs that whenever any letter written by the Emperor reached Azam, of which the purport had not been previously notified to him by his Court-agent, the prince from the time of riding out to welcome the *farman* on the way to that of reading its contents used to so tremble at heart that the natural colour left his cheeks. "1

Shah Alam became fully free in May 1695. But his restoration to full rank and power could not be effected without some sort of conflict with his rival, which, however, was cut short by Aurangzib's imperious authority and force of character. We narrate the incident in the words of the official historian, Mustad Khan.

"On the day of *Id-ul-fitr* (5th May, 1695) the Emperor was to go with all his sons to pray in the grand mosque at Bijapur, where he was then staying. As the eldest son always sits on the right hand of His Majesty, and during Shah

1 I find it difficult to date this incident. According to Khafi Khan it happened while Azam was by order marching from Bankapur towards Wagingera, passing the imperial camp on his way. That could not have been in 1694 or 1695. Manucci's story, ii. 467, refers to another event.

Alam's captivity his younger brother Azam had been given this seat of honour, the eldest prince now asked, 'What is your Majesty's order about my rightful position on the day of *Id*?' Aurangzib replied, 'Go to the *Idgah* before my cortege and you will sit on my right hand.' He did so. When the imperial party reached the steps of the mosque, Shah Alam advanced, met the Emperor, and kissed his toes. His Majesty, after shaking hands with him, took his left hand in his own right, and entered the mosque. Thus the eldest prince was placed on the right of the Emperor. Azam, who was walking behind, touched the sleeve of his elder brother, as a sign to him to move away and make room for him on the Emperor's right. It caught His Majesty's eyes. With his right hand he grasped the skirt of Azam and dragged him away to his left When the prayer was over, and the *khatib* ascended the pulpit [to proclaim the Emperor's titles], Aurangzib rose from his seat, holding the hand of Azam, and went out by the second gate, making a signal to Shah Alam to issue with his sons through the third gate." [M.A. 372; *Storia* ii. 318-319].

This was done to avert an armed collision between the two princes or their retainers. Manucci (ii. 465) mentions how in 1680 Azam had made a public scene at Ajmir by trying to take precedence of his brother by force: "Shah Alam was going to audience. Close to a bridge he saw the train of Azam pushing in great haste in the hope of passing over first, and fully resolved on resistance if they met any one. Shah Alam, from prudence or timidity, ordered his people to halt and yield free passage to his brother, Azam. The latter, taking no notice of him, with much haughtiness and making his horse curvet, passed the first without paying any attention or civility to his elder brother..... For this reason, when the king sends one prince to any province to supersede another, one goes by one route and the other issues forth by another, escorted by Court mace-bearers with gold maces. Great care is taken that they do not encounter each other, in order to avoid any mishap or any fresh outbreak."

Two days after sending away Shah Alam to Northern India, the Emperor broke up his camp outside Bijapur, soon afterwards (21st May 1695) reached Brahmapuri on the Bhima, where he was to live for the next four years and which his pious zeal renamed *Islampuri*. Muhammad Azam accompanied him. Aurangzib was so strict in enforcing regulations that the circuit of Azam's camp was reduced by his command to the area of Aurangzib's own before his accession to the throne. [M.A. 373.]

Early in 1696, after the disasters to Qasim Khan and Himmat Khan at the hands of the Marathas in the Chittaldurg district, while Bidar Bakht was sent to restore imperial prestige there, Azam was moved back to Pedgaon [Bahadurgarh] to guard the Mughal rear. [*Ibid* 380.]

At last after more than four years' stay at Islampuri Aurangzib set out in person (October 1699) to capture the great forts of Maharashtra. At his summons Azam left Pedgaon, joined him at Miraj (10th November), and accompanied him during the sieges of Satara and Parli, which fell in April and June 1700 respectively. The qiladar of Satara made his submission through the mediation of the prince, and therefore the conquered fort was newly named after him *Azam-tara*. [M.A. 421.] Parli, too, capitulated through him.

The imperial army began its return march from Parli, on 21st June, amidst indescribable hardships. The rivers and *nalas* were in high flood; the incessant rain turned the roads into muddy bogs; all transport animals had perished, and as the Court historian humorously describes it, "the gypsies of the army had to load their household goods on the backs of their fowls." It took them three days' marching to cover ten miles. In this way they reached Bhusangarh, some 70 miles from Parli, in 35 days. From this place the Emperor sent Azam with his contingent to Khandesh and Malwa to give rest to his war-worn soldiers and refresh their exhausted mounts. [*Ibid*, 429.]

When encamped at Dhar (in Malwa) the prince received an order (July 1701) to go to Gujrat as its governor, under

whom the lately annexed State of Marwar also had been placed some years ago. Before giving him this post, Aurangzib correctly hits off his son's character in a letter to his wazir, "Shujaet Khan (the late governor of Gujrat) is dead. A *subadar* should be selected for that province. Prince Alijah, *i.e.* Azam, desires the post. If he does not play the rôle of an Emperor's son he can do the work better than others. It may be given to him." [*Ruqat*, No 118.]¹

Azam arrived at Ahmadabad, the seat of his government, on 14th November 1701, and lived there for nearly five years. Large numbers of letters written to him by Aurangzib during this period have been preserved and also the daily newsletters of the prince's court for two years. From these we learn only administrative details, and they have been woven, with some other pieces of information, into one chapter of Ali Muhammad Khan's Persian history of Gujrat entitled the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. In April 1703 the province of Ajmir was added to the prince's charge. [*M.A.* 473].

The viceroy of Gujrat held an important and very difficult office; he had to watch the frontier carefully for roving Maratha bands, who made frequent dashes into Gujrat through the broken country of Jhabua and the gap in the Western Ghats near Nandurbar. The eternal struggle with these elusive freebooters seems to have worn him out, as the following incident shows:—

The Emperor learnt from the newsletter of the province of Gujrat that Janaji Dalve, a Maratha general, had robbed some traders on the road to Surat, and that on the matter being reported to the prince he had remarked, "It has taken place within the limits of the faujdari of Amanat Khan, collector of Surat; it does not concern me." Aurangzib wrote across the sheet in

¹ The same estimate of Azam's character is made by Aurangzib in another letter.—"Muhammad Azam Shah has done better work than others. If he does not play the Padishah-zada, good and suitable performance of tasks will come out of his hands.....Send him gold-embroidered robes, a khilat, a sword, a horse and a farman..... and summon him to my presence. Soothing his wise mind is really doing my own work". [I.O.L. M. S. 3301, f. 39 b.]

anger, "Reduce Azam's rank by 5,000 and take from him the value of what the traders have lost....Bravo for your principship, that you consider yourself lower than Amanat Khan ! In my lifetime you have a claim to inherit my empire, why then do you not make Amanat Khan a sharer of your heritage ?" [Hamid-ud-din's *Ahkam* §21.]

Early in 1705 a great sorrow fell on Azam and darkened the remainder of his life. His beloved wife Jahanzeb Banu Begam (popularly called Jani Begam), a daughter of Dara Shukoh and the nursling of the saintly Jahanara, died of an abscess in the right breast. The French doctor, Mons. Martin, had proposed that the patient should be examined by one of his female relatives then living in Delhi, (evidently an Indo-Portuguese Christian woman) who was skilled in surgery (*haziqa*), so that he might prescribe medicines according to her report. But the Begam refused to be examined by a woman who drank wine, lest her body should be defiled by her touch ! The disease lingered on for two years and then she died in great pain. Two lakhs of rupees were spent in furnishing the corpse, distributing alms, and despatching the coffin to Delhi for burial there in the cemetery of the saint Qutb-uddin Bakhtiar. Her princely husband's mourning for her is only paralleled in Mughal history by that of Shah Jahan for his Mumtaz Mahal or of Dara for his Nadira Banu (the mother of this lady). Azam Shah was heartbroken at being left lonely of his life-long companion. He was now 52, and had only two years more to live. He gave up hearing music and attending dances, though he had been very fond of them from youth upwards. His wife's property reverted to him, but he would not touch it ; he gave away her jewels to their son Bidar Bakht and the other effects to their daughter Najib-unnessa. [*M.A.* 494, 495].

The Emperor had by this time grown very old and his death might happen any day. Azam, therefore, begged to be allowed to come to his presence, alleging that the climate of Gujrat did not agree with him, and that a fever had made him "so weak that he could not utter words." Aurangzib was

too suspicious of his sons and afraid lest they should imitate his conduct to his own father in Shah Jahan's old age. He wrote back to Azam, "I, too, had begged for the same thing from my father during his illness (on the eve of the war of succession), and he had replied to me that the wind of every place is congenial to men except the wind of evil passions!" [K.K. ii. 541; Hamid-ud-din's *Akham* § 24].

But Azam continued pressing his request, and at last the old man yielded. Leaving Gujrat (25th November 1705) in charge of one of his servants, pending the arrival of the next subadar Ibrahim Khan from Kashmir, the prince started for his father's camp at Ahmadnagar, where he arrived on 25th March 1706, and continued to live with him till the February of next year. [M.A. 512, *Mirat* 377.]

When the unmistakable approach of death warned Aurangzib that he must send his two sons far away from his bedside, if he wished to avert a bloody civil war between them immediately after his death or even before he closed his eyes, on 5th February 1707 Kam Bakhsh was sent off to Bijapur, his viceroyalty, and on the 11th Azam was despatched to Malwa.

The Emperor, an old man of ninety, was now left alone on his deathbed. He wrote the following pathetic letter to Azam.

"Peace be on you!

"Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong, strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

"Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not; no trace is left of the days that are no more; and of the future there is no hope.

"My fever has departed, leaving only the skin and husks behind it. My son Kam Bakhsh, who has gone to Bijapur, is near me. And you are nearer even than he. Dear Shah Alam

is farthest of all. Grandson Muhammad Azim has, by order of the Great God, arrived near Hindustan (from Bengal).

"All the soldiers are feeling helpless, bewildered, and perturbed like me, who having chosen to leave my Master, am now in a state of trepidation like quicksilver. They think not that we have our Lord Father (ever with us). I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sins. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me. When I am parting from my own self, who else would remain to me? (Verse).

Whatever the wind may be

I am launching my boat on the water.

"Though the Lord Cherisher will preserve His slaves, yet from the point of view of the outer world, it is also the duty of my sons to see that God's creatures and Muslims may not be unjustly slain.

"Convey to my grandson Bahadur (i.e. Bidar Bakht) my parting blessing. At the time of going away I do not see him; the desire of meeting remains (unsatisfied). Though the Begam is, as can be seen, afflicted with grief, yet God is the master of hearts. Shortness of sight bears no other fruit than disappointment.

"Farewell! farewell! farewell!"¹

Azam had left Ahmadnagar on 11th February, but knowing that his father's death was a matter of a few days only, he marched very slowly with halts on alternate days, and had passed only 40 miles when, on 21st February 1707, he received news of Aurangzib's death the day before. He immediately rode back to Ahmadnagar and arrived there in the night of the 22nd.

How Prince Muhammad Azam buried his father, and then crowned himself Emperor and set out for Northern India to seize Agra and Delhi and fight his elder brother Bahadur Shah, and how he fell (8th June 1707) with his sons in the battle of

¹ Translated by me from Br. Museum Addl 26240. The version given in the lithographed bazar edition of the Ruqat has been rejected.

Jajau (some 16 miles south-west of Agra) have been fully described in Irvine's *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, chapter I.

In July 1683 an incident happened in which Azam proved by his cool courage that he was a true son of Aurangzib, who had faced a furious elephant without flinching when he was a lad of fifteen only. Azam was coming by command from the bank of the Nira river to the Emperor's Court at Aurangabad. In the evening when he was approaching the city on horseback, an elephant of Fath Jang Khan turned wild, charged the troops, and came upon the prince himself. Azam shot an arrow at it, but it came rushing on. As his horse began to shy, he dismounted, faced the elephant on foot, and slashed at its trunk with his sword. His retinue, who had scattered at the first alarm, now rallied, came to the spot, and put the beast to death. [*M.A.* 230.] A hereditary officer named Mir Baddhu¹ had shown the greatest courage in turning the elephant back from the prince, but he declined the robe of honour offered to him by the Emperor, saying "I have merely done the duty of a *khānazād* (hereditary slave). Why should I accept wages for it?" [*Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri*, No. 24.]

The volume of *Akkam-i-Alamgiri*, ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur, gives eight very interesting anecdotes, characteristic of both father and son, in which Azam figures. (Nos. 17-24 of my edition of the text and translation).

The *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri* contains 64 letters (Nos. 8-71) written by order of Aurangzib to Azam and 11 letters (Nos. 76-86) addressed by the Emperor to Bidar Bakht. There are important references to Azam in several other letters in this volume and also in the extremely rare collection, *Kalimat-i-Aurangzib*, of which the only complete manuscript is in Rampur. From the following letters of Aurangzib we get a vivid idea of his attitude towards his son.

To Asad Khan (the wazir).—"Convey Kam Bakhsh, ignorant of affairs, to the house of Muhammad Azam Shah and

¹ It appears from the context that Mir Baddhu was Azam's foster-brother. If his mother's name was Zahida Bann, then she must have been Azam's wet-nurse.

make him beg his brother's pardon so as to reconcile the two." [Ruqaat No. 110.]

To Hamid-ud-din Khan.—“Some days ago, *Shah-i-Alijah* (i.e. Azam) told me that three men are his deadly enemies, namely, Hamid-ud-din Khan, Amir Khan, and Munim Khan. I answered, ‘Amir Khan has a good nature and is no man's enemy. Nor probably is Khan Hamid. As for Munim Khan, his character is unknown to this oppressed fool. The Lord God has Himself arranged for both [the first two] by granting them life. Why are you negligent about your *own* condition? Alas! alas!’ ” [Br. Mus. Addl. 26240, p. 101-102.]

To Asad Khan.—“From the letter of a friend I learn that Muhammad Azam has posted his own servants on the royal highway to convey news by relay of horses (*dak chauki*.) What does it mean, when newsletters [from my Court] are reaching him [regularly]? It is surprising that he has not reported this action to me. Probably his brain did not come to his aid

Write to him to remove this private innovation which he has set up on the roads, or else I shall do so.” [Ruqaat No. 96.]

But, on the whole, Aurangzib cherished the greatest affection and felt the least contempt for Azam among all his sons. It is a pleasant surprise to find Aurangzib, who has been well called “the weary Titan” and “the sour old Puritan”, relaxing in a letter to Azam and even composing a set of doggerels to describe to him the sorry condition of the imperialists at the siege of Satara. We give them below.

“To my son Alijah.— ... Fort Satara has been renamed *Azam tara*. Play the music of rejoicing and recall to your memory the words of your childhood, namely, *Babai dhun dhun!*” [Ruqaat, No. 43.]

فرمان پادشاه عالمگیر کہ بیای قلعہ ستارہ بنام اعظم شاہ اصدار یافتہ
برد *

بابای مہ - بہادر من -

(۱) مجب آمد بہار - بہرہ مند خان بیہار

مخلص خان از کہی بیزار - روح اللہ خان کار خانہ دار -

حمیدالدین خان حیلہ دار -

سیادت خان و محمد امین خان از تلایہ گشتن خوار -

چین قلیچ خان و فتح اللہ خان از مرور چال خبر دار -

میرزا صدرالدین محمد خان و خدا بنده خان هیچ کارہ و همه کار -

و خان عالم و دکھنی های دیگر بحال خود گرفتار -

ذوالفقار خان دریلغار -

[2]

تربیت خان نابکار - از کرده خود لچار -

فیروز جنگ در برار -

جملة الملک دربنگاه بر سر کار -

متصدیان ریزہ از گرانی غلہ رز بفرار -

سربراہ خان درتوال دزد افشار -

یار علی و منعم خان مسخرہ طیار -

ارشاد خان مسست و سرشار -

مسترم خان بد کردار حاضر دربار -

ذوالحق محتسب سراسر رستہای بازار -

مطبخ خان مربی انفار - [Var. ملتفت خان]

مرید خان بی جمعیت کم سوار -

[Var. مرید خان بی جمعیت از یک سوار]

مرحمت خان پدر مرده در بند جامہ و دستار

[Var. امیرخان پدر مرده در فکر جامہ و دستار]

عنایت اللہ خان برای دفتر در فکر بار بردار -

منصور خان بغنیم دار و مدار -

[2] } دیگران همه تفاعل شعار -
Variant. } خود شدم لچار -

شجاعت خان و بهادر شاه دور از افکار نصرت شعار

[Var. و بهادر شاه با پسران خود نصرت شعار]

الکبر آواره دشت ادبار -

کم بخش بی تدبیر ناهنجار [Var. بتدبیر]

پسر شما تابع نصیحت پدر بزرگوار -

[Var. بیدار بخت طامع نصیحت مربی پدر بزرگوار]

شما سلامت شعار -

باقی اختیار بدست آن در خور دار نیک کردار *

دیت

من نمیگویم ز آن کن یا بفکر سود باش *

ای ز فرصت بیخبر در هرچه باشی زود باش **

Br. Mus. Addl. 26240 p. 108 (shortest). 1.0 L.M.S.
1344, f. 50a and Haidarabad Asafiya Library MS. Insha 59, f. 49
(fullest, with some mistakes.)

VII.—Sources of the History of Shivaji Critically Examined.

By Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., I.E.S.

I.—Shivaji's Place in Indian History.

Shivaji, the Maratha king, lived a short life of 53 years (1627—1680) and reigned for only six years over a small kingdom in the Bombay Presidency. But as a moral force he occupies the most remarkable position in the history of mediæval India. He was the founder of the first Maratha kingship and the organizer of the Maratha race into a nation which in less than a century from his time came to dominate the entire Indian continent, the north as much as the south. The foundation of an independent national State among a disorganized subject race is no doubt a great achievement. But Shivaji's greatness was of an even higher order. His influence was not confined to the tribe and district to which he belonged. He inspired and set the first successful example of that Hindu revival which asserted itself so unexpectedly after five centuries of irresistible and ever-extending Afghan, Turkish and other alien dominations over India. In many respects, Shivaji was truly like Tennyson's hero, who leaves the obscurity of his native village, and

Moving up from high to higher,
Becomes on Fortune's crowning slope
The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire.

Such a centre of the hopes and desires of the Hindu world in that age was Shivaji, as we find again and again in the verses of Bhushan, like the following :—

भूषण कहत सब हिन्दुन को भाग फिरे चढ़ेते । राखो हिन्दुवानी
हिन्दुवान के । तिलक राख्यो स्मृति और पुरान राखे बेद विधि सुनौ

मैं। साहि के सपूत सिवराज समसैर तेरी दिली दल दावि के
 दिवाल राखी दनी मैं ॥ हिन्दुन की चोटी रोटी राखी है सिपाहिन
 के काथे मैं जनेऊ राख्यो माला राखी गर मैं। राजन की हृद राखी
 तेग बल सिवराज देव राखे देवल स्वधर्म राखी घर मैं ॥ कासिहु
 मे कला जातौ मथुरा मसीद होती सिवाजी न होत तै सुनति होत
 सबकी ॥ हिन्दुआन दुपदी की रजति बचैवे काज भण्टि बिराट पुर
 बाहर प्रमान कै ॥ मेवार दुदार मारघाड़ औ बुंदेल खंड भारखंड
 बांधौ धनी चाकरी इलाज की। अटल सिवाजी रह्यो दिल्ली को निद
 र घर धरी ॥

Such was his fame among the men of his age, and time has only extended it. One has to travel in Maharashtra or keep close touch with modern Marathi newspapers and books to realize the fact that the personality of Shivaji excites even to-day a degree of love and veneration comparable only to that which the great founders of religion command among their followers. The Shivaji myth, like the Napoleonic myth in France, has grown rapidly since his death and deeply influenced the character of the extant writings on his life and reign in the Marathi language. And to-day, though the better trained Maratha intellect shrinks from creating fresh myths, it has devoted itself with astonishing keenness, industry and personal sacrifice to the search for every scrap of new or neglected information about him, bringing it into the light of public knowledge, and drawing from it all the historic deductions that it can yield,—and often more than what it can reasonably yield. The simple, hardy, brainy and persevering Maratha race has thrown itself, in universal co-operation, into the acquisition of the national hero's relics—literary and material. No subject is more popular, none excites a wider interest among all classes in Maharashtra, than Shivaji and his doings and sayings, and even the history of the men who had the slightest connection with him in life.

In his brief lifetime, Shivaji was known to fewer men and less well known than now. He flashed like a meteor through the political sky of India. The popular imagination of his age transformed him into something more terrible than a human being, a sort of spirit of our nursery tales. On 26th June 1664 the English merchants at Surat wrote: "Shivaji is so famously infamous for his notorious thefts that Report hath made him an airy body, and added wings, or else it were impossible he could be at so many places as he is said to be at, all at one time..... They ascribe to him to perform more than a Herculean labour that he is become the talk of all conditions of people." (*F.R. Surat*, Volume 86.) Again, Shaista Khan is reported by Sabhasad (*Bakhar*, page 50) to have told the grand wazir of Aurangzeb: "Shiva is a great magician. He entered my camp, took a flight of 40 yards through the air and thus penetrated into my bedroom."

II.—Materials for a Life of Shivaji.

The life of such a man is a proper subject of scientific study by earnest students of Indian history. The materials for it are second only to those of Aurangzeb's reign in point of copiousness and value, but spread through more languages; and it is these sources that I intend to describe and critically examine here.

Mr. Justin E. Abbott of New Jersey, U.S.A., read a paper at last year's centenary meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (*J.R.A.S.*, 1923, page 667), opposing my view that the Portuguese life of Shivaji printed in Lisbon in 1730 is of little or no historical value. Since then he has written to me suggesting the publication of a number of volumes each containing a collection of the texts of all contemporary references to Shivaji found in a particular language.

Now, accounts of Shivaji are known to exist in eight different languages—Marathi, Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, English, French, Dutch and Portuguese. Many of them are in manuscript, and all are not of equal value as historical material, some being mere legends or bazar gossip, as a detailed examination will show.

III.—Marathi Sources—Their Character.

One would naturally imagine that the accounts of Shivaji in the Marathi language are the most authentic and valuable. Unfortunately, this is far from being the case; and a little reflection on early Maratha history will explain why it is so. State papers require a certain amount of culture and prosperity in the State, durable buildings, internal peace, and orderly habits and love of letters among the people, for their composition and preservation. All these factors were wanting among the Marathas of Shivaji's time.

The Marathas in the early seventeenth century were a poor and rude people, dispersed through many States, and with no literature of their own except folk-songs and religious poetry. Shivaji for the first time gave them peace, wealth and an independent national Court, without which it is not possible to produce or store official records. But this happy state of things lasted barely eighteen years, 1671 to 1688. From the death of Shambhuji early in 1689 to the restoration of Shahu in 1707, followed nineteen years of constant warfare in Maratha land,—raids and reprisals, forts changing masters repeatedly, revolts and family feuds among the nobles, and civil war in the royal family, in addition to the ever present Mughal invasion. All of Shivaji's capitals, Poona, Raigarh, Satara and Panhala, were taken by Aurangzeb. After the fall of Raigarh and the captivity of the rest of the royal family, Rajaram, the new Maratha king, fled to the Madras coast (1689) in the greatest distress, escaping from the Mughal pursuers by the skin of his teeth and leaving everything behind him. Such a master and his servants, running with their lives in their hands, before numerous and triumphant enemies, could not have burdened themselves with papers during their perilous flight across the entire Deccan peninsula. And even on the Madras coast, his new refuge (the fort of Jinji) was afterwards taken by assault by Aurangzeb. Hence, the Maratha Government records before the Peshwa period had no chance of escaping destruction.

By State papers of a historical nature we understand the despatches sent by provincial governors and commanders of field armies, the orders issued to them, administrative circulars and directions, royal proclamations to the public, trade reports, traders' petitions and orders on them, minutes of council consultations, correspondence with foreign governments, reports from spies and ambassadors, etc. Hardly a single paper of this class relating to Shivaji's time has been discovered in the Marathi language, except some letters printed in Rajwade's Volumes VIII and XV. The only old papers of Shivaji's time that are extant in Marathi are legal documents belonging to private persons—such as decisions of law suits and *mahazars* or reports of local inquiry with the help of a civil jury, deeds granting land or the right to village-headmanship (*pateli*), orders on petitions, etc. Many thousands of these have been collected and published. They have survived because they were not kept in the Government archives, where they would have perished long ago, but in private families, which have carefully preserved them as title-deeds. Hence, the Maratha kingdom before the Peshwa period is utterly wanting in the State papers, detailed official histories, contemporary memoirs, and official letter-books in which Mughal history is so rich.

IV.—Marathi Sources Classified and Critically Examined.

The extant Marathi sources of a historical or quasi-historical nature are (1) *Bakhars* or professed histories, (2) *powadas* or ballads, (3) letters, (4) *Kaifiyats*, *yadis* or *haqiqats*, i.e., modern compilations of the nineteenth century usually submitted to the British Government by Maratha families of note and (5) a dry bare chronicle kept by the Zedhe family, the *deshmukhs* of the village of Kari in the Bhor State, and covering 80 years (1618 to 1697).

As for the *bakhars*, their value has been greatly exaggerated through the public ignorance of their actual contents, date of composition, and standard of accuracy. Only one of them, the *Sabhasad Bakhar*, was written by a contemporary of Shivaji

and it is the sole source from which all later *bakhars* have borrowed their information, sometimes word for word.

The author tells us that he wrote his history in 1694 in the fort of Jinji at the request of his master Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, who told him : " My father was so powerful that he defeated four Padishahi Governments, and now Aurangzeb is taking his forts. What is it due to ? You know the facts about the old kingdom (i. e., Shivaji's). Therefore, write the history from the former times." (Page 5.) We find from the *Memoire* of Francois Martin, the founder of Pondicherry, that Krishnaji Anant (or Questna Antogy, as he spells the name) was the second minister at the Court of Rajaram and a sort of rival to Prahlad Niraji the Regent. Therefore, as a member of Shivaji's Court, Sabhasad's accuracy of information is beyond question. But his *bakhar* has several defects. It covers barely 100 small pages, and was composed from memory without the help of written memoranda or documents. The events are not always arranged in the order of time, and very few dates are given. Some of his statements are incorrect, as we know from other and more reliable sources.

All the other *bakhars* of Shivaji like that of Chitragupta, the Shedgaonkar, and the *Shiva-digvijay* give us merely loose traditions where they are not borrowing from Sabhasad. They have only padded out this source with rhetorical flourishes, miracles, emotional gush, and commonplace remarks and details added from the authors' imagination.

The latest of these *bakhars* unfortunately enjoys the greatest reputation with uncritical readers. This is due to the fact of Grant Duff having based his narrative of Shivaji on it. It was composed as late as 1810 by Malhar Ram Rao, the hereditary clerk (*chitnis*) of the Rajas of Satara. If any State papers of Shivaji's time had survived, they might have been expected to be incorporated in a book written by such a man under the orders of Shivaji's reigning successor. But none has been used. The book is incorrect, rambling, or pure guess-work in many places, with not even the idea of correct chronology.

The Muhammadan names in it are often 'grossly incorrect and anachronistic. A detailed comparison of the life-story of Shivaji as correctly reconstructed from other and more reliable sources with the narrative of Chitnis exposes the hundred and one errors and absurdities of the latter work. Indeed, I have been forced to the conclusion that the first problem of Maratha history under Shivaji's house is to correct the historical errors circulated by Chitnis.

The ballads are mere popular legends, often gross embellishments of facts, and composed long after Shivaji's time. Only two of them relate to him. European readers will be greatly disappointed if they expect to find in them some genuine kernel of history, such as they have found in the mediæval English ballads of Minot. The *haqiqats* similarly embody popular family traditions, often retouched to enhance the writer's claim to lands or honour. They are at least a hundred and fifty years later than Shivaji's time and have no value as evidence.

V.—Marathi Letters and Sanads need Critical Examination.

As for the letters, their exact character and import have been described by me already. They are valuable only as throwing occasional sidelights on Shivaji and illustrating his administrative system, but are of little help in constructing a political history of his reign. Unfortunately, the authenticity of none of these letters can be accepted without a critical examination of each individual piece. Many of them were produced before the Inam Commission (1827) to establish claims to rent-free tenure of villages, and forgery of old grants was as common in these circumstances as the forgery of the Mughal Emperors' farmans and seals in the land disputes of Upper India. The Marathi editor Rajwade has himself pointed to probable forgery in the case of some of these. I shall here, as an example, prove the forgery of one at least of these from other and unimpeachable evidence.

In a *sanad* dated 1529 A.D.¹ (page 8 of *Sanads and Letters*, edited by Mawjee and Parasnis), Bijapur is designated as *Darul-zafar*. We know that this title was given to the city by Aurangzeb on its capture in 1686, *i.e.*, nearly sixty years afterwards. (See the official history of Aurangzeb's reign, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, Persian text, page 282.) The forger who did not know this fact, but found Bijapur designated by that epithet in documents written after 1686, transferred it to his fabrication with the pretended date of 1529.²

Other examples might be given. Hence, it is clear that these old letters and *sanads* cannot be blindly accepted as true and contemporary records in every case. They require a critical examination and corroboration from other and independent sources. But among a large section of Maratha writers there is an unfortunate tendency to accept as gospel truth every statement contained in every scrap of what they vaguely and uncritically designate by the general title of "old paper" (*junya kagad*).

VI.—Zedhe Family Chronicle most authentic.

The chronicle kept by the Zedhe family, however, stands on a different footing. I am convinced that it is the most valuable and authentic contemporary record of Shivaji and his ancestors as yet discovered. It contains brief notes of the more important public events in the Deccan kingdoms and Shivaji's family and State, mixed with the fortunes of successive generations of the head of the Zedhe family of *deshmukhs*. Exact dates are given in every case, and fragments of the

¹ The date given is Shahur San 930 (which means 1529 A.D.), in the reign of Ib rahim Adil Shah Jagat-guru—which extended from 1579 to 1627 A. D. !!! Similarly, Rajwade XVII. 1 designates Aurangabad as *Khujis ta-buniad* as early as 737 Shahur San! In fact, Aurangabad was founded and so named as late as 1636 A.D. XVIII. 40 and 41 do not give the Rajyavishekh year though dated 1675.

² We know that when his present Majesty visited Madras in 1909 he ordered the name of *Blacktown* to be changed to *Georgetown*. What is the value of a title-deed professing to be written in 1850 or even in 1900 which describes a land as situated in Georgetown, Madras?

work have been found in more than one place. It was first printed and brought to the public notice as late as 1918, and hence the idea of deliberate modern fabrication cannot be suggested. Two instances are given by me here to prove how original and authentic this chronicle is.

Shivaji's Master of the Horse, Netaji Palkar, as we know, was seized by Aurangzeb and forcibly converted to Islam in 1667 and sent to serve in the Panjab and Afghanistan. Nothing is said about him after this date in any Persian or Marathi history. (See Grant Duff, i. 221 n.) But the Zedhe chronicle tells us that on 19th June 1676 *Netaji Palkar yani prashchit ghetle ; shud zale, i. e.*, Netaji Palkar made expiatory penances and was purified. Now, the English factors at Rajapur wrote to Surat on 24th July of the same year, "Sevagee has lately returned to him a subtile fellow by name Nettagee who hath been 10 years in the Mogulls Court, turned Moreman but now remade a Hindue." (*F.R.* Surat, Vol. 86.)

This Factory Record is in MS. in the India Office, London. It has not been printed, and the only copy of it in India is the one made for me at the India Office. No Maratha forger, therefore, could possibly have learnt the correct date of Netaji's reconversion from this English source; indeed, it was news to the Marathas that Netaji ever returned to Shivaji and joined Hindu society again. This independent corroboration is a decisive proof of the genuineness of the Zedhe chronicle.

Another corroboration is supplied by the date of Zulfiqar Khan's murder of Yachappa Nayak or Nair, a Rajput noble of the Madras Karnatak (in 1694), of which the only printed records are the Diary of the Madras Factory (where the name is grotesquely disguised) and Irvine's translation of Manucci (where the learned editor has failed to trace the name and suggests the emendation *Ache Panwar* iii. 271). In the Marathi chronicle, too, the name has puzzled the writer or copyist, who has given it as *Yacha Panayed*,—which is meaningless as *Yacha* is a Marathi genitive suffix. Hence any

borrowing of the information from the Madras records or Manucci's travels by a modern Maratha writer is impossible. But all these sources agree as to the date of his murder, which is also described in a Persian MS., the *Dilkasha*.

Contemporary accounts of Shivaji were written in Sanskrit by Jayaram Pindye (*Radhamadhava-Vilasa Champu* edited by Rajwade, mostly dealing with Shahji, and *Paranala Parvata-Grakan-Akhyana* edited by Sadashiv Mahadev Divekar) and by Paramanand (*Shiva-Bharat*). If we are careful enough to make due allowance for the flattery and hyperbole of Court poets, these can yield a certain number of facts for incorporation in Shivaji's history. I have given a summary of the narrative contained in the second of these in the *Modern Review*. The Hindi poet Bhushan was a most intolerable rhetorician and eulogist of Shivaji, who is said to have rewarded this poet's panegyric odes with an elephant and a purse of five lakhs of rupees. Bhushan's *Kavya* contains the fulsome adulation of Shivaji by means of an infinite variety of similes and parallels from Hindu mythology and epics. It gives no history and no date, and it can be interpreted only by one who imports a full and detailed knowledge of Shivaji's career from other sources. But it is useful as showing the atmosphere and the state of the Hindu mind in that age.

VII.—Persian Sources.

The Persian sources are, in my opinion, first in importance except for the purely internal affairs of the Marathas, for which the Zedhe chronicle is of supreme value. No other source in any language equals these. These are of four classes, viz. (1) newsletters of the Emperor's Court, called *Akhbarat* (and wrongly *Waqia*); (2) official annals based upon the above; (3) private histories and memoirs, and (4) letters, *farman*s, and other State papers.

Of these the newsletters are the most important. In Mughal times every provincial governor, vassal king, royal prince and general absent from the Court, kept an agent there to send

him a summary of the daily occurrences at the Court of the Emperor and the substance of the despatches read and orders issued there. These manuscript newspapers, or rather newsletters, have been preserved for many years of Aurangzeb's reign, and here we get the earliest and most ungarbled account of every incident in which the Marathas crossed the path of the Mughals. It would be a mistake to imagine that they contained merely a selection of news flattering to the Emperor. They told the unvarnished truth of everything that transpired in the public Court, and when a despatch from a province or general was silently read and put in his pocket by the Emperor they noted this fact too ! Indeed, when at the end of the seventeenth century difficulties and military reverses began to thicken round Aurangzeb he issued an order (on 25th September 1699) that the Court agents of the provincial governors were to sign undertakings binding themselves not to write *akhbarat* to their masters but copy only what was included in the statements of the imperial Paymaster of the Forces and other officers. But the old practice was revived.

Such minutes of the occurrences at Court and copies of despatches received were kept in the State archives at Delhi, and each Emperor from Akbar to Shah Alam I had the annals of his reign written by some selected author on the basis of these authentic papers.

I have sometimes found Maratha writers objecting to the evidence of the Persian records on the ground that the Mughals were the enemies of the Marathas. The objection is childish. If all Persian evidence is to be rejected summarily as the work of enemies, then it logically follows that all evidence in the Marathi language should be rejected as summarily on the ground of its being tainted by national partiality. The true historian's duty is to sift evidence, compare and correct it by concentrating light from every available source. It is also forgotten by these modern Maratha critics that all the Persian histories were not written by Muslims, many of them were the works of contemporary Hindus who had a warm place in their

hearts for Shivaji. Again, many of these unofficial histories and all the *akhbarats* were written by private persons and not meant for the Emperor's or his ministers' eyes. Hence, they could venture to tell many an unpalatable truth.

The strongest point of the Muslim writers as a class is accurate chronology, of which the Hindus were proverbially negligent. Hence, the Persian sources, especially the Court annals and *akhbarats*, are of unrivalled value (except for certain incidents recorded by the European factors).

VIII.—English Factory Records.

Of these European traders in India, the English have left the most voluminous and most important mass of information about Shivaji. For one thing, they were the richest and most prosperous of the Europeans in India in the late seventeenth century, and they had a very close and often painful direct contact with Shivaji through their factories at Surat, Rajapur, Karwar, Hubli and Dharamgaon (in Khandesh), most of which were looted by the Marathas. The eternal dependence of the barren island of Bombay for firewood, meat and fresh provisions on the mainland opposite, which belonged to the Marathas, made the English keep close touch with the latter. From a very early part in Shivaji's career the English found it necessary to send out paid spies into his territory to learn the dreaded raider's movements and intentions, and the reports of these men were entered in the diary of the factory, especially at Rajapur. In addition to the many English embassies sent by the Bombay factors to Shivaji (which are described in Chapter XIV of my *Shivaji and His Times*), the Madras Factory kept one or more "Spy Braminees" in Shivaji's camp in the Karnatak. The news gathered in this way was immediately recorded and the record has remained to our own day in its original MS. without any garbling in the course of copying or making up into books.¹

¹ The English records are so scrupulously truthful that when a spy's report entered on a certain date is afterwards proved to be false, the correction is also entered.

These have been copied in the India Office, London, for my use. There is no other contemporary source about Shivaji so full, so accurate, and (excepting the *akhbarat*) preserved in such a pure form as these Factory Records. An impartial historian must place them in the front rank among the sources of the history of Shivaji.

The English represented a different and in some respects a higher culture than the Mughal Court agents and Maratha *chitnises*. They had also the advantage of writing from a fresh or detached point of view, which naturally no class of Indian writers could occupy. Hence their factory records sometimes give us personal sketches of Shivaji and his Court as seen directly face to face, the like of which is not to be found in any other language. I may here refer to three such only. At the first sack of Surat (1664) the English merchant Anthony Smith was seized and kept in Shivaji's camp. As an eyewitness he has left a graphic account of the incidents and sights there. Henry Oxenden, the English ambassador, has left a very long description of Shivaji's grand coronation at Raigarh in 1674. In March 1675 the English factors of Rajapur waited on Shivaji, of which event we have a charming account in their letter (*F. R. Surat*, Vol. 88) :—

“The Rajah came. He stopped his *palanquin* and called us to him. When we were pretty near him we made a stop, but he beckoned with his hand till I was up close with him. He diverted himself a little by taking in his hand the locks of my periwig and asked us several questions. He said that he would order things for the future to our full satisfaction, and that we might be sure that no reasonable request we should make to him would he deny to us.”

The Dutch accounts are very meagre because their interests at this time lay further south and east than the range of Shivaji's operations. Their factors at Surat, Vingurla and Karwar record only a few incidents about him, none of them unknown from other sources. The attempt of their Admiral Rycloff to organize

a Dutch-Maratha attack on the English at Bombay has been fully described by Orme.

IX—French Accounts of Shivaji.

The French accounts have proved most disappointing to me. Not only have French travellers like Thevenot, Bernier, Tavernier, Dellon, and Manucci (who, though an Italian by race, wrote part of his work in French and sent it to France for publication) given incidental accounts of Shivaji, but the first separately published life of Shivaji is in French. It is by Father Joseph d'Orleans of the Society of Jesus and was printed in Paris in 1688 and issued bound up with his *History of two Tartar Conquerors who subjugated China*. It covers only 35 printed pages and is based on a narrative supplied from Goa but of no historical value. I have made a full translation of it for the *Modern Review* May 1924. Abbe Carré, who travelled from Surat to Madras by land in 1672-73, published his *Voyage des Indes Orientales* in 1699, where he devotes two long chapters to the History of Shivaji, covering more than a hundred printed pages. It is not a life of Shivaji, but a jumble of legends and fiction padded out from the author's imagination. To a student who would approach it with respect as a contemporary's evidence it will prove a delusion and a snare.

I have made a full translation of Carré's account of Shivaji, and thus found out the correctness of Orme's opinion of it,—“All he says in the first volume is either erroneous or too confused to be reduced to order; but the second part affords better information, although only concerning his operations in the years 1671 and 1672.” (*Fragments*, 174) On Pere d'Orleans's book, Orme remarks :—“It does not give a single date, and only a few facts, without precision, and better known before.” (*Ibid*, 178.)


Carré's *Voyage* supports the popular legend which has long been current in Bijapur that Afzal Khan, before he set out on his ill-fated expedition to arrest Shivaji, had a premonition of his impending death and massacred all his 63 wives, whose

graves, standing in regular rows on the same platform, are still pointed out in the village of Afzalpur. The French traveller writes,—“ When Abdul Khan (i.e., Abdullah, surnamed Afzal), had to quit his women, his jealousy flamed up with such violence that he caused to be stabbed before him the 200 unfortunate women..... I remember that in 1673 in a journey which I made by land from Surat to St. Thome, I rested at Abdulpur, of which Abdul Khan was governor before his assassination. I went to see the palace, I there found a great number of workmen occupied in cutting the stones which were to serve as the mausoleum of Abdul Khan: and I was surprised (to learn) how in the epitaph they mentioned the women of the seraglio whom he had caused to be killed.” (ii. 10-16).

The French have left no official records about Shivaji on the Bombay coast. Even the *Journal* of Boureau Deslandes tells us nothing useful about Shivaji, though this merchant lived at Rajapur for some years and came in contact with Shivaji's officials. ¹ The only State-paper in French relating to Shivaji is the *Memoire* of Francois Martin, which is extremely valuable for the Maratha doings on the Madras coast as far as they affected the French at Pondicherry and their old friend Sher Khan Lodi, the baron of Valikandapuram. Translations from this work on the subject have been published by me in the *Modern Review* (February 1924).

X.—Portuguese Accounts.

The Portuguese of Goa in that age were an ignorant, weak and decadent people, as Manucci has graphically described. They were afraid of Shivaji, and tried their best to keep on good terms with him. On inquiry I have learnt that there is no MS. account of Shivaji among the Portuguese records preserved in Lisbon or Goa, and none has been printed in their numerous magazines and series of State papers. The book *Vida e accoens do Sevagy*, falsely professing to have been written

¹ Rajwade, viii. letter 8 speaks of a letter sent by Shivaji to this Mons Boureau, whose name is mis-spelt as .

by Cosmo da Guarda, a native of Murnugao in 1695, and printed at Lisbon in 1730, is almost entirely a romance with gross inaccuracies of facts, useless digressions, general descriptions, commonplace remarks, and bazar gossip. It tells us nothing new that is historically true.

XI.—Causes leading to Fabrication of Historical Evidence.

A certain class of writers frequently talk about the "Maratha historical school" or the "Maratha opinion" on some point of Deccan history. People intimately acquainted with the Bombay Presidency know what these terms really mean. But others who have not had such experience, require to be cautioned by being informed of the true state of things in Maharashtra.

For a long time past, owing to territorial quarrels there have been opposite schools in respect of Maratha history among the Maratha writers themselves, such as Poona *versus* Baroda and Kolhapur *versus* Satara. These political feuds transferred to literature have been cut crosswise and the situation further complicated by the caste bickerings between the Prabhus and the Chitpavans, and the Marathas proper (an agricultural and military caste, just now rising to literary production) and the Brahmins* (who would ascribe all Shivaji's achievements to Brahman inspiration, guidance and administrative support!). Each of these "historical schools" has its own writers, discovers "old papers" favourable to its claims, interprets them to serve its pet theories, and, worst of all, has its own MSS. of well-known historical works with its own special readings of the significant passages!

XII.—Examples of the perversion of history in modern Maharashtra.

Thus, king Rajaram admittedly fled from Vishalgarh, leaving his wife Tara Bai there, in Asharh or Shravan 1611

* Even the Brahmins are not a united family. The Deshastha section of this caste has long fought the Chitpavan section, and in addition the Chitpavans have tried to degrade a third section, the Shenvis, by ascribing a filthy origin to these last, especially the branch of Shenvi Brahmins called *kucha-shail*.

Shaka (July or August, 1689, Zedhe Chronicle): Rajaram reached Jinji in far off Madras on 2nd November 1689 and did not meet her for some years after. Tara Bai in this interval gave birth to a son who afterwards succeeded to the throne (of what soon became the Kolhapur branch) as Shivaji II. The year of this boy's birth is given in the Kolhapur MS. of the *Chitnis Bakhar* as 1611 Shaka (1689. A.D.), but the Satara MS. of the same work gives the date as Shaka 1613 (1691 A.D.). It should be here explained that the Satara branch of the Maratha royal family was the rival of the Kolhapur branch, and if the birth of this Shivaji II could be placed more than ten months after July 1689, then he would be proved illegitimate.

Similarly, when in January 1712 this Shivaji II died, the throne of Kolhapur was occupied by his younger brother Shambhuji II. But Bhawani Bai, the widow of the former, produced his alleged posthumous son (Ramraja) long after his death. The London Royal Asiatic Society's MS. of *Khatut-i-Shivaji* (pp. 10-11) contains a letter from Shambhuji II to Raja Shahu, ironically criticising the abnormally long period of gestation claimed for this Ramraja, who was naturally a rival to Shambhuji II.

Coming to more recent times, only six years ago, at the fourth annual conference of the Indian Historical Research Society of Poona, the leader of the "Maratha historical school," Mr. V. K. Rajwade (a Chitpavan Brahman), took the occasion of reading what he was pleased to call an interpretation of an old Sanskrit work written in Shivaji's time, to deliver a long and slashing attack on the Prabhu caste, in spite of cries of "Stop! Stop!" "Sit down!" The effect was instantaneous. The Prabhu members left this Society as a den of the haughty intolerant Brahmins and started a rival den of their own called the Chandraseniya Prabhu Historical Research Society, Poona! [See *Chaturtha Sammelan Fritta* and K. T. Gupte's *Rajwadgachi Gagabhatti*.]

We may now expect that each of these castes will "discover" its own old papers and readings of MSS. which will prove diametrically opposed to those of the other. We have communal representation in legislatures and Government offices. It has been left to the twentieth century Marathas to give us the communal cooking of history !

"What is truth ?" asked Pilate. If he had been posted to Maharashtra, it would have been necessary for him to ask about the historical witness's caste, sect (Ramdasi or not), and favourite historical coterie (*mandal*).

VIII.—A Hindu Aristophanes.

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)

The ancient Greek defined man as "an animal which laughs;" the ancient Hindu added, also "an animal which is laughed at." And Aristotle and Bharata analysed the methods to achieve laughter in literature. Thus arose Comedy. Comedy is a corrective; by its laughter, society avenges itself for the liberties taken with it—liberties, social, political, moral, religious as also intellectual. The merry band of shaggy and goat-footed¹ revellers treating with boisterous familiarity their Dionysius was as much true to Greek life as the Indian farces² where the priest-ridden people patronised the Vidūṣaka, a contemptible rascal, travestying caste.³ These primitive efforts grew in power and purpose and penetrated into every walk of life. Aristophanes survives as a landmark but his Indian *confidères*⁴ are mainly matters of tradition. One of the latter, the author of the *Bhagavadajjukam* is rescued from oblivion and presented for the first time from original MSS.

Religion (along with Philosophy) has been the unending source of comedians of all ages. For is not Religion (as also Medicine) the great thing everyone likes to jest at when well and to eagerly run after when otherwise? They are co-extensive with life and comedy is a criticism of life. Every age again is noted for some predominant characteristics — a passion for a particular phase of life. The modern might be credited with a passion for proportion and its critics like Molière and Sheridan survey human foibles of both mind and body without undue stress on either. But the Greece of Aristophanes,

¹ Donaldson, Greek Theatre, 1840, p. 30.

² Lévi, Théâtre Indian.

³ J. A.O.S., Vol. XX., pp. 338-339.

⁴ Schuyler, A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, p. 104.

immediately before and after the Peloponnesian¹ crisis represented Sophistry and Tragedy. The first two or three centuries of the Christian era witnessed in India the dying conflict of expiring Buddhism with revived orthodox Hinduism and the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga and the Vedānta philosophies as well as the final stereotyping of the classical Sanskrit with the *Bhāṣya* of Patañjali. As might have been expected, these, being the topics exercising the public mind, were particularly chosen by the comedians of the epoch.

The *Bhagavadajjukam*, in the above respect, bears a striking resemblance to the *Clouds* of Aristophanes. The latter representing the old conservative party attacks the Sophists, making Socrates, as the most familiar at Athens, their representative. Socrates, though he did oppose the Sophists and ridiculed them, and did not travel about or take pay, was, to a certain extent, one of them.² The Parivrajaka and his disciple Śaṇḍilya in the *Bhagavadajjukam*, however fanciful in some respects, are broadly speaking typical, and they almost irresistibly remind us of Socrates and his disciple and Strepsiades in the *Clouds*.³ But the Sanskrit comedian goes further than the Greek. The latter confines his attention principally to Sophists and Philosophers—his concern for the Tragedians being reserved for his other works. The former criticises and parodies impartially the exponents of most of the then current controversies, bringing within his purview (a) Buddhists, (b) the preceptors of the Yoga practice and the Sāṃkhya philosophy, (c) systems of medicine and (d) even grammar!

Date and authorship of the book are unknown. None of the extant books on dramaturgy mentions it. Here also is an interesting analogy with Aristophanes. Several allusions (especially 9, sec. 3) make it clear that the brilliant exuberance of Aristophanes did not fit into Aristotle's system and that he even excluded it from his very definition of comic drama. He aimed

¹ Mahaffy, Greek Classical Literature, Pt. I, p. 136.

² Mahaffy, op. cit. p. 57.

³ Comedies of Aristophanes. Bohn's Classical Library, pages 122—79.

at a theory of Greek comedy excluding Aristophanes¹ If ever written, the theory is now lost. But the omission of the name of the *Bhagavadajjukam* may be due to a loss of the work itself when the current Bharata was compiled.

The internal evidence of the *Bhagavadajjukam* reflects an age of transition when religious animosities were still alive and the spirit of scepticism manifested itself more or less openly. This would point to about the second-third century A.C. Evidences² are slowly accumulating about the existence of other books on dramaturgy as well as dramas older than the current *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The *Bhagavadajjukam* is perhaps another argument in the same direction. The author's name³ is not mentioned as in the case of the Trivandrum "Bhāsa" Series. Then again, of the ten species of drama mentioned in the *prahasana*, viz. *Vārehāmrga*, etc., the first term is unknown to Bharata,⁴ *Daśarūpa*⁵ and *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.⁶ The language is very simple.

The only mention of the work found so far occurs in Śingabhūpāla's *Rasārnavasudhākara* quoted in the Report on a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1896-7 by M. S. Śāstrī, Madras, 1898.

The present edition is based on two MSS., one written in Bengali characters in the possession of the late MM. Kaliprasanna Bhaṭṭācārya, sometime Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, who kindly allowed me to take a copy of it in 1922. The other from Madras in Mālayālam characters, copied by Paṇḍit Venkaṭarāma Śarmā Śāstrī. The Bengali MS. (called B. in the footnotes to the text) is old in appearance but mutilated and evidently copied from a Northern MS. The Madras MS. (called M. in the footnotes) is complete but contains some undoubted copyist's errors pointed out later on.

¹ Wilamowitz, Arist. u-Athen, i. 324.

² Charpentier, J.R.A.S., 1923, p. 608.

³ Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra, v. 254.

⁴ Ibid, XVIII 192.

⁵ Haas, Daśarūpa, pp. 99, 100.

⁶ Sāhityadarpaṇa, VI. 277, 278.

Bhagavadajjukam

Edited by Prof. A. P. Banerji-Sāstri, Ph.D.

भगवदज्जुकम् ।

[श्रीचनन्तप्रसादशास्त्रिणा संस्कृतम् ।]

(नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः)

त्वां पातु लक्ष्मणाः

सुरवरमकुटेन्द्र चारुमणिष्टवः ।

रावणनमिताङ्गुष्ठो

रुद्रस्य सदार्चितः पादः ॥ १ ॥

इदमस्मदीयं गृहम् । यावत्प्रविशामि ।

(प्रविश्य)

विदूषक विदूषक ।

(प्रविश्य)

विदूषकः— अञ्च अञ्चस्मि ।

सूत्र— विजनं तावत् । यावत्ते प्रियमाख्यास्यामि ।

विदूषकः— अञ्च तह ।

(निष्क्रम्य प्रविश्य)

अञ्च इदं वियगम् । पित्रं दाव अञ्चो आचिखवदु ।

सूत्र— श्रूयताम् । अद्यास्मि बहिर्नगरादागच्छतानेकसिद्धादेशजनित-
प्रत्ययेन लक्ष्मणिना ब्राह्मणेनाहमादिष्टः । अद्य सप्तमेहनि तव
राजकुले प्रेक्षा भविष्यतीति । ततस्त्वय्योगपरितुष्टेन राज्ञा

दत्ता महतीं श्रियमवाप्नुयतीति । तदस्य ब्राह्मणस्यामिथा-
देशितया जनितोत्साहः सङ्गीतकं करिष्यामि ।

विदूषकः— कदमं दाणि अंओ नाडवं नाडौवदि ।

सूत्र— अत्रैव मे चिन्ता । अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु वारेहा-
मृगडिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाणसत्तापवीथ्युत्सृष्टिकाङ्गप्रहसनादिषु
दशजातिषु नाट्यरत्नेषु ह्यस्यमेव^१ प्रधानमिति पश्यामि ।

विदूषकः— अंओ अहं हसो वि पद्दसणं न आओ ।

सूत्र— तेन हि शिच्ययतु भवान् । न शक्यमशिक्षितेन किञ्चिदपि
ज्ञातुम् ।

विदूषकः— तेण हि अंओ एव्व मे उवदिसदु ।

सूत्र— बाढम् ।

ज्ञानार्थं कृतबुद्धिस्त्वं
सन्मार्गेणानुगच्छ गच्छन्तम् ।

(नेपथ्ये)

शाण्डिल्य शाण्डिल्य ।

सूत्र—

योगेशं द्विजवृषभं

शिष्योद्धेनं^२ परिव्राजम् ॥ २ ॥

(निष्क्रान्तौ)

(स्थापना) ।

(ततः प्रविशति परिव्राजकः)

परि— शाण्डिल्य शाण्डिल्य, न तावत् दृश्यते । सदृशमस्य तमो-
वृत्तस्य । कुतः,

देहो रोगनिधिर्जरावशगतो लौनान्तकाधिकृतो

यो नित्यप्रतिघातसङ्घविषयस्तीरे यथा पादपः ।

^१ Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra, vi, 44.

^२ M. शिष्यैवेनां.

तं लब्ध्वा सुदृष्टैरनेकगुणितैर्देहात्मना विस्मितो
मत्तो यो बलरूपयौवनगुणैर्दोषान्नतान् पश्यति ॥ ३ ॥
तस्मादनपराद्धः खल्वयं तपस्वी, पुनरपि समाह्वानं करिष्ये,
प्रायिष्ये प्रायिष्ये,

(ततः प्रविशति प्रायिष्यः)

भो पुढमं एव अहं करडुअसेसससमिद्धे शिरखवरप्पखिखत्त-
जीहे कण्ठप्पसत्तजसोपवीदे बद्धणमत्तपरितुडे कुले परितुडे ।
तदो दुदीअं अह्माणं गेहे असण्णासेण बभुखिखदो पादरा¹-
सणलोहेण सक्कियसमणअं पव्वजिदस्सि । तदो तच्चिं दासौए
वुत्ताणं यक्ककालभत्तत्तणेण बुभुखिखदो । तं पि त्रिसज्जिअ
चीवरं छिन्दिअ पत्तप्पतोलिअ (छ) त्तमत्तं गण्हिअ गिग्गदोस्सि,
तदो तुदीअं इमस्स दुट्ठाचंअस्स भण्डभारगद्भो सव्वत्तो ।
ताअ (... बगअवतसभा ...) कच्चिं गुड्ढं गअो
भअवो । आ एसो दुट्ठलिंगी पादरासणलोभेण एक्काई
भिखवं आहिण्हिदुं पुव्वं गदोत्ति तक्कोमि । एसो भअवम् ।

(उपगम्य)

मरिसेदु मरिसेदु भअवो ।

परि— षट्ठा,

अमानकामः सहितव्यधर्षणः

द्व्यश्राज्जनाद्वैच्छकृतात्मधारणः ।

चरामि दोषव्यसनोत्तरं जगत्

ऋदं बज्जग्राहमिवाप्रमादवान् ॥ ४ ॥

प्रायिष्य— भो भअवं,

ण मामअो अत्थि ण भादुवो वा

पिदा कुदो मे भअवं पसादो ।

एकौ अहं हृस्वदत्ययोग

जट्टिं (पङ्क्तौ) णह धम्मलोहा ॥ ५ ॥

परि— प्राणिइत्य किमेतत् ।

प्राणिइ— भूतयो अलीकं बन्धयन्ति भववो भणादि ।

परि— अथकिम् । सत्यमन्तं चाभिसन्धाय कृतं बन्धकं भवति । कुतः,

यदा तु संकल्पितमिष्टमिष्टतः

करोति कर्मावहितेन्द्रियः पुमान् ।

तदास्य तत्कर्मफलं सदा सुरैः

सुरक्षितो न्यास इवानुपाल्यते ॥ ६ ॥

प्राणिइ— कदा गुह्यं तस्मै फलं लभति ।

परि— यदा विरागमैश्वर्यं लभते तदा ।

प्राणिइ— तं पुण क्वं लभति ।

परि— असङ्गतया ।

प्राणिइ— किं पुण एदं असंगदोत्ति पुच्छति ।

परि— रागद्वेषयोर्भ्रंशं मध्यस्थता । कुतः,

सुखेषु दुःखेषु च नित्यतुल्यतां

भयेषु हर्षेषु च नातिरिक्तताम् ।

सुहृत्समित्रेषु च भावतुल्यतां

वदन्ति तां तत्त्वविदो ह्यसंगताम् ॥ ७ ॥

प्राणिइ— एदं पुण अत्थि ।

परि— नासतः संज्ञा भवति ।

प्राणिइ— सक्कं कत्तुति भववो भणादि ।

परि— कः संशयः ।

प्राणिइ— अलीकं अलीकं एदम् ।

परि— कथमिव ।

प्राणिइ— भववं खु दाव किस्समं कुप्पदि ।

परि— नाधीष इति ।

शाण्डि— जइ अहं अहिआमि वा गाहिआमि वा किं तव सुत्तस्स ।

परि— मा मैवम् । अभ्युपगतशिष्यार्थं ताडनं स्मृतमिति । तस्मादकुपि-
तस्त्राहं श्रेयोर्थं भवन्तं ताडयामि ।

शाण्डि— अक्केरं अक्केरं, अकुपिदो णाम ताडेइ । छिन्दौअदु एसा कहा,
अदिकामदि भिखवावेला ।

परि— प्रातस्तावन्न मध्याह्नः । न्यस्तमुसलेप्यंगारे सर्वभुक्तजने काल
इत्युपदेशः । तस्माद्विश्रमार्थमिदमुद्यानं प्रविश्यावः ।

शाण्डि— हा हा पडिंजाहाणिओ किल भअवो ।

परि— कथमिव ।

शाण्डि— समसुखदुःखो किल भअवो ।

परि— अथकिम् । समसुखदुःखो ममात्मा । कर्मात्मा विश्रममिच्छति ।

शाण्डि— भो भअवं को एसो अत्ता णाम । को अस्सो कम्मत्ता णाम ।

परि— षट्णु,

यः स्वप्ने गगनमुपैति सोन्तरात्मा

सोप्यात्मा विधिविहितं प्रयाति यच्च ।

देहोयं नर इति संज्ञितोन्यथा वा

कर्मात्मा समसुखभाजनं नराणाम् ॥ ८ ॥

शाण्डि— जो अजरो अमरो अच्चेज्जो अभेज्जो सो अत्ताणाम । जो
हसदि भासअदि सअदि भुञ्जदि विलब्धं च गच्छदि सो
कम्मत्ताणाम ।

परि— यथाग्राह्यं तथा गृहीतम् ।

शाण्डि— अवेहि अभिगगहिदोसि ।

परि— कथमिव ।

शाण्डि— णं सो एवं दाणि एसो सरौरं विणा अत्थि किं वि ।

परि— लौकिकमभिहितम् । यतश्च भेदमुपगतानां सत्त्वानां स्थानानि
श्रूयन्ते अत एवं ब्रूमः ।

प्राशिङ्— सव्वं दाव चिट्ठदु । तुमं दाव को ।

परि— ष्टणा,

स्वपवनसलिलानां तेजसश्चैकदेशा-

दुपचितचलमूर्तिः पार्थिवद्रव्यराशिः ।

श्रवणनयनजिह्वानासिकास्यर्शवेदी

नर इति कृतसंज्ञः कोप्यहं प्राणिधर्मा ॥ ६ ॥

प्राशिङ्— हा हा एत्तिअमत्तेण अत्ताणं पि ण जाणादि किं पुण
अस्सा^१णम् । भो भअवं इदं उज्झा^२णम् ।

परि— प्रविश, विविक्तशरणाश्रयप्रतिश्रया वचम् ।

प्राशिङ्— भअवं एव्व पुरदो पविसदु, अहं पिठ्ठदो पविसामि ।

परि— किमर्थम् ।

प्राशिङ्— वोलआणीए मम मादाए सुदं असोअपस्सवंतलणिलु^३द्धो वंधो
पडिवसदित्ति । ता भअवं एव्व पुरदो पविसदु । अहं पिठ्ठदो
पविसामि ।

परि— बाळम् ।

(प्रविशति)

प्राशिङ्— (प्रविश्य) अविद्धा वंधेण गच्छीदोत्ति । मोहेथ मोहेथ मं
वंधसुद्धादो । अणाहो विअ वंधेण खाइदोत्ति, इदं खु लुहिलं
पस्सवदि कण्ठादो ।

परि— न भेतव्यं न भेतव्यम् । मयूरः खल्वेषः ।

प्राशिङ्— सच्चं मोरो ।

परि— अथकिम् । सत्वं मयूरः ।

प्राशिङ्— जइ मोरो उंघाडेमि अखिखणी ।

परि— कन्दतः ।

प्राशिङ्— दासौएवुत्तो वंधो मं^४ भएण मोरखवं गणिहए पलाअदि ।

^१ M. ता.

^२ M. इ.

^३ भ.

^४ B. मम.

(उद्यानं निरूप्य)

ह्री ह्री चम्पक्यञ्जुकादम्बणीवर्णा उरतिलक्यकस्मिन्नारकुरव-
कपूरचूदपिञ्जलवंगसालतालतमालहिन्तालगांतमासलपुसा-
गाव्यवज्जलसरलसज्जसिन्दुवारतिगास'क्षसत्तपस्सकणवीरकुटव्य-
शिचन्दगासोअमस्त्रिआगन्दीवत्ततअरखदिरकदलीसमवइसंवस-
न्तोपसोभिदं पवालपत्तपक्षवकुसुममञ्जरीसमाउलं अदिमुत्तमाह-
वीलदामखडवमखिदं मोरकोइलमत्तभमरमञ्जरावसंवुट्टं पिअ-
जगविप्यओ असमुप्यसोआभिभूदयुवदौजयं अणुभावअरं संप-
उत्ताणं सुहावहं अहो रमणिज्जं खु इदं उज्ज्मा'यम् ।

परि— मूर्खं अहन्त्यहनि ह्रीयमानेध्विन्द्रियेषु किन्ते रमणीयम् । कुतः,

अभ्यागतः किसलयामरणो वसन्तः

प्राप्ताशरत्कुमुदधखडविभूषणेति ।

बालो नवेष्टतुषु रञ्जति नाम लोके

यज्जीवितं हरति तत्काल रम्यमस्य ॥ १० ॥

शाखि— जं जदा रमणिज्जं तं तदा अरमणिज्जं ति पुच्छदि ।

परि— अपाखिडत्यमभिहितम् ।

अनागतं प्रार्थयतामतिक्रान्तं च शोचताम् ।

वर्तमानैरतुष्टानां निर्वाणं नोपपद्यते ॥ ११ ॥

शाखि— आअदमाणो पश्चाणम् । कहिं दाणिं उवविसामो ।

परि— इहैव ।

शाखि— अचोखं अचोखम् ।

परि— मेध्यमरणमदूष्या भूः ॥

शाखि— जदा परिस्सन्तो उपविसिदुकामो तदा अचोखं चोखं वा
करेसि ।

परि— श्रुतिः प्रमाणं नाहम् । कुतः,

अतिमानोन्मत्ताना-

महिंते हितमिति कृतप्रतिज्ञानाम् ।

नैवान्ति परं तेषां

स्वच्छन्दकृतप्रमाणानाम् ॥ १२ ॥

श्राणिड— अप्रमाणं मम एवं वज्रलं मंत्यन्तस्म ।

परि— मा मैवम् ।

प्रमाणं कुरु यत्लोके प्रमाणीक्रियते बुधैः ।

नाप्रमाणं प्रमाणस्था करिष्यन्तीतिनिश्चयः ॥ १३ ॥

श्राणिड— गज्ज दे प्रमाणं नाणामि ।

परि— व्यागच्छ वत्स अधीष्व तावत् ।

श्राणिड— ग दाव अभ्यस्सम् ।

परि— किमर्थम् ।

श्राणिड— अभ्यगणस्स दाव सत्यं सोदुमिच्छामि ।

परि— अधीताध्ययनैरपि कालान्तरविज्ञेया भवन्त्यध्ययनार्थाः । तस्मा-
दधीष्व तावत् ।

श्राणिड— अधीदे किं भविस्सदि ।

परि— प्रदण्ण, ज्ञानाद्भवति विज्ञानं विज्ञानात् संयमः संयमात्तपः
तपसो योगप्रवृत्तिः योगप्रवृत्तेरतीतानागतवर्तमानतत्त्वदर्शनं
भवति, एतेभ्योऽष्टगुणमैश्वर्यं लभते ।

श्राणिड— भो भव्वं जह्वाकामं मम बुद्धिं परिभविष्य भणान्ति, किं पुण
अदिठ्ठे भव्वदो परगेह्वाणि पविसिदुम् ।

परि— किमभिप्रेतं भवतः ।

श्राणिड— मम अभिप्येदं सक्किअसमणअणां कारणादो सुसाधिदाणि
संचण्णउत्ताणि भोअणाणि अणिह्दुम् ।

परि— अकाल्यं वर्तते लोभः ।

श्राणिड— एदस्स कारणादो तुवं मुणिह्दोस्सि । ग अज्ज अस्सं पओअणं
पेस्खामि ।

परि— मा मैवम् ।

महात्मभिः सेवितपूजितं द्विजैः
सुरासुराणामपि बुद्धिसम्मतम् ।
अवार्यमद्भ्यमचिन्त्यमव्ययं
महन्मया योगफलं निषेद्यते ॥ १४ ॥

शाण्डि— भो भव्यं जोषो जोषोत्ति पव्वाजया वज्जलं मन्तवन्ति,
को एसो जोषो णाम ।

परि— शृणु,

ज्ञानमूलं तपस्सार सत्वस्थं दन्दनाशनम् ।
सुक्तं देवाच्च रागाच्च योग इत्यभिधीयते ॥ १५ ॥

शाण्डि— आहारप्यमादो सव्वप्यमादोत्ति चिन्तवन्तस्स णामो भव्वदो
बुद्धस्स ।

परि— शाण्डित्य किमेतत् ।

शाण्डि— भव्यं एदं या जाणासि, पुठमं एव्व अहं पादरासणालोहेण
सक्किव्वसमणव्वं पव्वजिदोद्धि ।

परि— अस्ति किञ्चिदभिज्ञातम् ।

शाण्डि— अत्थि अत्थि, पभूदं अत्थि ।

परि— भवतु शृणुमस्तावत् ।

शाण्डि— सुणादु भव्यं—‘अद्यौ प्रकृतयः षोडशविकाराः आत्मा पञ्चा-
वयवः त्रैगुण्यं मनस्सच्चरः प्रतिसच्चरश्चेति’ एव्वं किल भव्यवदो
जिणेण पिडव्वपुत्तये उत्तम् ।

परि— शाण्डित्य सांख्यसमय एव न शाक्यसमयः¹ ।

शाण्डि— वुसुख²खिदाए ओदणागदाए चिन्ताए

¹ Relative positions of the Sāṃkhya and the Buddhist philosophies.

² M. सं.

अस्मं मए चिन्तिदं अस्मं मए मन्तिदं,
 दाणिं सुणादु भअवो, पाणादिपादादो
 वेरमणिं सिख्खापदं, अदिस्सादाणा वेरमणिं
 सिख्खापदं, सुघावादा वेरमणिं

सिख्खापदं, अज्झाणं संचं बुद्धं सरणं गच्छामि ।

परि— शाखिडल्ल खसमयमनतिक्रम्य परसमयं वक्तुं नार्हति भवान्¹ ।

तमस्यैका रजो जित्वा

सत्त्वस्यः सुसमाहितः ।

ध्यातुं श्रौत्रं भवान्ध्यानं

एतज्ज्ञानं प्रयोजनम् ॥ १६ ॥

शाखिड— जइ एव्वं एक्को एव्वं तुवं सुसमाहिदो जोअं एव्व चिन्तेदु ।

अहं सुसमाहिदो ओदणं एव्व चिन्तेमि ।

परि— च्छिद्यतामेषा कथा ।

सर्वं जगत्संच्छिप देहबन्धे

यथेन्द्रियाण्यात्मनि योजयित्वा ।

ज्ञानेन² सत्वं समुपाश्रयित्वा³

देहात्मनात्मानमवेक्ष्य⁴ कृत्स्नम् ॥ १७ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति गणिका चेद्यौ च)

गणि— हज्जे मज्झअरिए मज्झअरिए कहिं कहिं रामिलओ ।

चेटी— अअं आअच्छामित्ति भगिअ गअरं एव्व पविट्ठो आउत्तो ।

गणि— हज्जे किं गुज्ज एदं भवे ।

चेटी— किमस्सं गोठिं तुवारिदुम् ।

गणि— दाणिं वि ण पंचत्ता गोठ्ठी । जो मत्तावेदि हस्सावेदि लज्जाघोरं
 पि इत्थिआजणम् ।

¹ Chronology of the Buddhist system.

² From ज्ञानेन (page 10, line 16) to अज्झाणं च (page 16, line 4), mutilated in the B. MS., restored from the M. MS.

³ समुपाश्रित्य ?

⁴ B. च.

गणि— गच्छ गं तुवारेहि ।

चेटी— अञ्जुए तह ।

(निष्क्रान्ता)

गणि— हञ्जे परऊदिए हञ्जे परऊदिए । कहिं कहिं उवविश्रामो ।

चेटी— एदस्सिं कुसुमिदसहकारतिलअमण्डिदे इमस्सिं सिलापट्टए
मुज्जत्तअं उवविसिअ एक्कं पत्थुअं गाअदु अञ्जुआ ।

गणि— एवं ह्योदु ।

(उभे उपविश्य गायतः)

परभृतमधुकरनाद-

ज्याघोषः काम एष उद्याने ।

तिष्ठति सहकारशरो

सुहृति नूनं मनोपि मुनेः¹ ॥ १८ ॥

श्राण्हि— (आकर्ण्य) अइ कोइलरवो ।

(पुनर्विभाष्य)

गाऊ अअं कोइलरवो, पाअसे चिदं पखिखत्तं विअ अदिमऊरो को
वि गौअरवो, भोदु पेखखामि दाव ।

(विलोक्य)

अविहा काणऊ एवा तरुणी दस्सणीआ अणवरोहेण अलंकारेण
अलंकिदा इमस्स उंआणस्स अलंकारो विअ उवविट्ठा ।

चेटी— अञ्जुए ।

श्राण्हि— अइ गणिआ खु इअम् । धस्सा खु सधणा ।

चेटी— दुदीअं पि एक्कं पत्थुअं गाअदु अञ्जुआ ।

गणि— तह ।

(पुनर्गायति)

मधुमासजातदर्पः

कन्दर्पः कामिनीकटाक्षसखः ।

अपि योगिनामिह मनो
विध्यति फुल्लैरशोकशरैः^१ ॥ १९ ॥

प्राण्डि— अइ मज्जरं पस्सवदि कण्ठादो ।

सुणादु भच्चवो ।

परि— शब्दप्रयोजनं श्रोत्रं प्रसंगमत्र न गच्छामि ।

प्राण्डि— पसंगं पि करेसि जदि से कारिसापणा भवे ।

परि— आः युक्तव्यवहारौ भव ।

प्राण्डि— मा कुप्प, अयुत्तं पव्वाजच्चाणं कुपिदुम् ।

परि— एष न व्याहरामि ।

प्राण्डि— दाणिं पण्डिदोसि ।

(ततः प्रविशति यमपुराणः)

यम— एष भोः,

भूतानि यो ह्वरति कर्महतानि लोके
यः प्राणिनां सुहृत्तदुष्कृतकर्मसाक्षी ।
उक्तोस्मि तेन श्रमनेन यमेन देहे
प्राणान् प्रजाव^२तिविधौ विनियोजयेति ॥ २० ॥

तस्मात्—

नानाराष्ट्रनदीवनाचलवतीं
भूमिं समालोकयन्
मेघैस्तोयभरावलम्बनिचयैः
प्रच्छाद्यमानो भृशम् ।
तीर्त्वा चारुणसिद्धकिन्नरयुतं
वातोद्धताभ्रं नभः
सम्प्राप्तोस्मि यमेन यत्र विहित-
स्तर्कादिवाहं पुरम् ॥ २१ ॥

^१ The use of Sanskrit by the Courtesan and her attendant (without any stage-direction, e.g. संस्कृतनाट्यम्, as in Kalidasa, etc.) is curious.

^२ य ?

तत् कनु खलु सा । अये इयं सा ।

सपल्लवैस्तप्तसुवर्णवर्णै-

रशोकटक्षस्तवकैर्मनोजैः ।

अन्तर्हिता भाति वराङ्गनैषा

सन्ध्याभजालैरिव चन्द्रलेखा ॥ २२ ॥

भवतु । अस्यस्याः कर्मावशेषः । मुहूर्तं स्थित्वा प्राणान् हरामि ।

चेटी— अज्जुए दस्सणौओ खु एसो असोअकिसलओ । गं गय्हामि ।

अज्जु— मा मा अहं एव्व गय्हामि ।

यम— अयमिदानीं,

श्यामां प्रसन्नवदनां मधुरप्रलापां

मत्तां विशालजघनां वरचन्दनाम्नाम् ।

रक्तोत्पलाभनयनां नयनाभिरामां

क्षिप्रं नयामि यमसादनमेव वालाम् ॥ २३ ॥

अज्जु— (पल्लवापचयं करोति) ।

यम— यावत्सर्पत्वमुपगम्याशोकशाखायां स्थित्वा प्राणान् हरामि । अयं
सन्दंशकालः ।

गणि— हं केण वि दवुद्धि ।

चेटी— अज्जुए असोअकोडरि^१न्तरिदो बालो ।

गणि— हं बालो ।

(इति पतिता)

श्रायिड— भोदि किं एदम् ।

चेटी— अंअ एसा अज्जुआ बालेणदवु ।

श्रायिड— अविहा बालो । भो भअवं, एसा गणिआदारिआ बालेण दवु ।

परि— क्षीणेनास्याः कर्मणा वा भवितव्यम् । कुतः,

स्वकर्म भोक्तुं जायन्ते
 प्रायेणैव हि जन्तवः ।
 क्षीणे कर्मणि चान्यत्र
 पुनर्गच्छन्ति देहिनः ॥ २४ ॥

चेटी— अज्जए किं बाधेइ ।

अज्ज— सौददौ विअ मे सरीरम् । उंभमतौ विअ मे दिट्ठौ । आउलाउलं
 मे हिअअं, गगिहं गच्छन्तौ विअ मे प्राणा । सइदुं इच्छामि ।

चेटी— सुहं सइदु अज्जआ ।

गगि— सहि अत्तं अभिवादेहि ।

चेटी— सअं एव्व गदुअ अत्तं अभिवादेहि गम् ।

गगि— रामिलअं आलिंगेहि ।

(इति मूर्छिता)

चेटी— हा हदा खु अज्जआ ।

यमः— हन्त हताः प्राणाः । एष भोः,

गङ्गामुत्तीर्य विन्ध्यं शुभसलिलवह्नां

नर्मदामेष सद्यं

गोलेयीं क्षणावेष्ठां पशुपतिभवनं

सुप्रयोगां च काञ्चीम् ।

कावेरीं ताम्रपर्णीमथ मलयगिरिं

सागरं लघयित्वा

वेगादुत्तीर्य लंकां पवनसमगतिः

प्राप्तवान् धर्मदेशम् ॥ २५ ॥

अयं विशालप्राखो वटवृक्षः, अत्रासौनं

चित्रगुप्तं नयामि^१ ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

^१ The topography suggests a Southern play-wright.

चेटी— हा अज्जुए ।

शाण्डि— भयवं परित्तजति खु एसा गणिकादारिआ अत्तणो पाणाणि ।

परि— मूर्ख परमप्रियाः प्राणिनां प्राणाः प्राणैरेव परित्यज्यते शरीरमिति वक्तव्यम् ।

शाण्डि— आः अपेहि, अवरुणा शिस्सिणेह कक्कासहिअअ अभिस्सुचारित्त कूरसअड सुधा सुण्ड ।

परि— किमभिप्रेतं भवतः ।

शाण्डि— गामवुसदं दे पूरइस्सम् ।

परि— हृन्दतः ।

शाण्डि— भो भयवं दुःखिदोस्सि ।

परि— किमर्थम् ।

शाण्डि— अच्चाणं सजणो एसा ।

परि— कथं खजणो नाम ।

शाण्डि— एसावि पव्वाजआ विअणकोचिसिणेहं करेदि ।

परि— दुर्लभस्तेहोपि भूयोर्ययोगात् क्षिह्यत इति युक्तं, कुतः,

ये निर्ममा मोक्षमनुप्रपन्नाः

शास्त्रोपदिष्टेन पथा प्रयान्ति ।

तेषामपि प्रीतिपराङ्मुखाणां

गुणेष्वपेक्षां हृदयं करोति ॥ २६ ॥

शाण्डि— भयवं ण संकणोमि अत्ताणं धारेदुसुवसंपिअ रोदामि ।

परि— न खलु न खलु गन्तव्यम् ।

शाण्डि— मा कुप्प, अजुत्तं कुंपिदुं पव्वाजआणं उवसप्पिअ रोदामि ।

(उपसृत्य)

हा पिअसंपस्से हा मज्जरगाइणि ।

चेटी— अंअ किं एदम्

शाण्डि— भोदि सिणेहो ।

चेटी— (आत्मगतं) जुज्जइ सव्वाणुकम्मि साज्जजणो गाम ।

श्राण्डि— भोदि आमिस्सामि दाव गाम् ।

चेटी— पभवदि अंओ ।

श्राण्डि— हा भोदि ।

(पादौ स्पृशति)

चेटी— मा मा पादाणि आमिस्सिदुम् ।

श्राण्डि— आउलाउलोद्धि सौसं पादं न जाणामि, एदाणि तालफल-
पौणाणि काले अचन्दणाणुलित्तानि अणधोमुहाणि तत्तहोदीए
थणाणि, अधस्सुस मम जीवन्ति ए ण आसादिदाणि ।

चेटी— (आत्मगतं) एव्वं दाणि करिस्सम् । (प्रकाशं) अंअ अज्जुअं
मुज्जत्तअं पडिवालेहि जाव अत्तं आणेमि ।

श्राण्डि— गच्छ सिघं अहं अत्ताअणं ताणम् ।

चेटी— साणुक्कोसो एसो बह्मणो अज्जुअं ण
परित्तजदि, जाव गच्छामि ।

(निष्क्रान्ता)

श्राण्डि— गव्वा एसो सेरं रोदामि, हा अज्जुए, हा मज्जरगाइणि ।

परि— श्राण्डिल्लं न कर्तव्यमेतत् ।

श्राण्डि— आ अवेहि णिस्सिणेह मं पि तुमं विअ तक्केसि ।

परि— आगच्छ वत्स अधीय्व तावत् ।

श्राण्डि— भअवं कंचिं चिकिच्छीअदु दाव,
अणाहा तवस्सिणी ।

परि— किमौषधशास्त्रं भवतः ।

श्राण्डि— अधंदे जोअस्स फलम् ।

परि— (आत्मगतं) एष खलु तपस्वी कर्तव्याबोधतया आश्रमा-
प्रवादं न जानाति । किञ्चिच्छ्रुतं महेश्वरादिभिर्योगाचार्यैः

¹ M. नं.

² Burnell, 92b; Oppert, II, 9972; Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, 1891, p. 445.

शिव्यानुकोशः संगो¹ न बाधत इति । तदस्य प्रत्ययोत्पादनं
करिष्यामि । ईदृशो योग इति । अस्याः गणिकायाः शरीरे
आत्मानं योजयामि ।

(योगेनाविवृः)

गणि— (उत्थाय) शाण्डिल्य शाण्डिल्य ।

शाण्डि— (सहर्षं) अविहा यच्चादप्याणा खु एसा, भोदि अञ्चि ।

गणि— अप्रक्षालितपाणिभ्यां मा स्पाक्षीः ।

शाण्डि— अविहा अदिचोखिखणी खु इअम् ।

गणि— एहि वत्स अधीष्य तावत् ।

शाण्डि— इह वि अज्झ²अगम् । भअवं एव उवसप्यामि ।

(उपगम्य)

अइ सुदो खु भअवो हा वाआलअहाअदिजोअवित्तअ हा
उवंभाअ एवं बज्ज जाणन्तो ।

(विरमति)

(प्रविश्य माता चेटौ च)

एदु एदु अत्ता ।

माता— कहिं कहिं मे दारिआ ।

चेटौ— एसा अज्जुआ उंआणे वालेण दइ ।

माता— हा हदस्सि मन्दभाआ ।

चेटौ— अस्ससदु अस्ससदु अत्ता, एसा अज्जुआ सत्था चिट्ठइ ।

माता— णं पइदित्था ।

(उपगम्य)

जादे वसन्तसेणे किं एदम् ।

गणि— भवति वृषलवृद्धे मा स्पाक्षीः ।

माता— हद्वि किं एदम् ।

चेटौ— अचारुओ से विसवेओ ।

¹ RV. (cf. Naigh. ii, 17).

² M. भ.

माता— गच्छ सि'व्षं^१ वेळं आणेहि ।

चेटी— अत्ते तह ।

(निष्क्रान्ता)

(ततः प्रविशति रामलक्ष्मणे च)

चेटी— एदु एदु आउत्तो, अपेखवन्ती सन्तपदि अज्जुआ ।

रामि— इच्छामि तावदस्याः

कलमधुरवचोमुखं विशालाक्ष्याः ।

मधुपव्रतो हि पातुं

विकसितमिव कोमलं कमलम् ॥ २७ ॥

(उपेत्य)

कथं मां दृष्ट्वा परावृत्तमुखी स्थिता ।

(वस्त्रान्ते गृह्णन्)

एतन्निवर्तय सुगात्रि मुखारविन्द-

मौषत्तरङ्गपरिदृत्तमिवारविन्दम् ।

प्रौणाति नाम तव वक्त्रमसर्वदृष्ट-

मल्पाल्पयौतमिव पाणिपुटेन तोयम् ॥ २८ ॥

गणि— भोस्तमिह मुच्यतां मम वस्त्रान्तः ।

रामि— भवति किमिदम् ।

माता— जदा बालेण दृष्ट्वा तदा पञ्चदि असम्बद्धाणि मन्तेदि ।

रामि— एवं,

व्यक्तमस्या गतं चेतः

ततः^२ शून्ये तपस्विनी ।

प्ररीरेन्येन केनापि

सत्पुङ्गवेन धर्षिता ॥ २९ ॥

(प्रविशति वैद्यचेटी च)

एदु एदु अंको ।

वैद्यः— कहिं सा ।

चेटी— एसा अज्जुआ सत्या थिदा ।

वैद्यः— धरिसिदा मच्चासप्पेण खादिदा भवे ।

चेटी— कहिं अंओ जाणादि ।

वैद्यः— महन्तं विचारं करेदित्ति, आणेहि सव्वास्माणि दाव
आरम्भस्सं विसतत्तम् ।

(उपविश्य मण्डलं रचयित्वा)

कुण्डल कुण्डल गामिणि मण्डलं पविस

मण्डलं, वासुइएत्त चिट्ठ चिट्ठ, जाव

सिरावेहं करिस्सम्, कहिं कहिं कुठारिआ ।

गणि— मूर्खं वैद्य अलमलं परिअसेण ।

वैद्यः— पित्तं पिअत्थि, अअं दे पित्तं णासेमि ।

रामि— भो क्रियतां यत्तः, न खल्वद्वतच्चा वयम् ।

वैद्यः— सुन्दरगुलिअं बालवेज्जं आणेमि ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

(ततः प्रविशति यमपुरुषः)

यम— भर्त्सितोऽस्मि यमेन

न सा वसन्तसेनेयं क्षिप्रं तत्रैव नीयताम् ।

अन्या वसन्तसेना सा क्षीणायुस्तामिहानय ॥ ३० ॥

इति, यावदस्याः शरीरमग्निसंयोगं न करोति तावत्प्रप्राणासेनां
करोमि । अये उत्थिता खल्वियम् । भोः किम्न खल्विदम् ।

अस्या जीवो मम करे उत्थितैषा वराङ्गना ।

आश्चर्यं परमं लोके भुवि पूर्वं न दृश्यते ॥ ३१ ॥

(सर्वतो विलोक्य)

अये अयमत्रभवान् योगी परिव्राजकः क्रीडति, किमिदानीं
करिष्ये, भवतु । दृष्टम्, अस्या गणिकाया आत्मानं

परित्राजकशरीरे न्यस्य अवसिते कर्मणि यथास्थानं विनियो-
जयामि ।

(तथा ह्रत्वा)

एते विप्रशरीरेस्मिन् स्त्रीप्राणा विनियोजिताः ।

यथासत्त्वं यथाशौलं प्रायो यास्यन्ति विक्रियाम् ॥ ३२ ॥

(निष्क्रान्तः)

परि— परञ्जदिय परञ्जदिय,

प्राणिङ्— अविद्धा पचाअदप्पाणो खु भअवो ।

आतक्कोमि दुःखभाइणो ण रमंति ।

परि— कहिं कहिं रामिलओ ।

रामि— अयमस्मि भगवन् ।

प्राणिङ्— भअवं किं एदम्, कुण्डिअं गहणोइदं वामहत्थस्संभवलअपूरिदं
विअ पदिभादि णेव भअवं णेव अज्जआ भअवदज्जअं णाम
एदं सव्वत्तम् ।

परि— रामिलअ आलिङ्गेहि मम् ।

प्राणिङ्— किं सुअं आलिङ्गिदे ।

परि— रामिलअ मत्ता खु अहम् ।

प्राणिङ्— णहि णहि उम्मत्तो खु तुवम् ।

रामि— भगवन्नाश्रमविरुद्धः खल्वयमालापः ।

परि— सुरां पिबामि ।

प्राणिङ्— विसं पिव, भोदु परिहासपमाणं जाणिस्सम् ।

परि— परञ्जदिय परञ्जदिय आलिङ्गेहि मम् ।

चेटी— अवेहि ।

माता— जादे वसन्तसेणे ।

परि— इअद्धि अत्ते वन्दामि ।

माता— भअवं किं एदम् ।

परि— अन्ते पञ्चसिजाणासि मं रामिलञ्च अञ्ज चिराइदं खु तुर ।

रामि— भगवन्न वश्योस्मि ।

(प्रविश्य वैद्यः)

गुलिञ्चं ओंवाडेमि, गज्ज इञ्चं दड्डा आविड्डा खु इञ्चम् ।

गणि— मूर्खं वैद्य दृथादृद्ध प्राणिनामन्तकमपि न जानीषे ।

कतमेनेयं सर्पेण व्यापादितेति वद ।

वैद्यः— किं एत्थ अङ्करीञ्चम् ।

गणि— शास्त्रमप्यस्ति ।

वैद्यः— सत्यसदं अत्थि ।

गणि— ब्रूहि वैद्यशास्त्रम् ।

वैद्यः— सुणादु भोदौ ।

वातिकाः पेट्तिकाश्चैव

श्लैः श्लैः,

अविद्धा पुत्थञ्चं पुत्थञ्चम् ।

शाण्डि— अहो वेज्जस्स अभिरूवदा, एक्कापदे विस्सरिदो, भोदु मम वञ्जस्सो, भोदु इदं पुत्थञ्चम् ।

वैद्यः— सुणादु भोदौ,

वातिकाः पेट्तिकाश्चैव श्लैष्मिकाश्च महाविषाः ।

त्रौणि सर्पा भवन्त्येते चतुर्थो नाधिगम्यते ॥ ३३ ॥

गणि— अयमपशब्दः त्रयः सर्पा इति वक्तव्यम्, त्रौणि नपुंसकम् ।

वैद्यः— अविद्धा वैआअरुणसप्पेण खादिदा भवे ।

गणि— कियन्तो विषवेगाः ।

वैद्यः— विसवेआ सदम् ।

गणि— न खलु, सप्तविषवेगाः, तद्यथा,

रोमाच्चो मुखप्राषञ्च वैवण्णं चैव वेपथुः ।

कासः श्वासञ्च सम्मोहः सप्तैते^१ विषविक्रियाः ॥ ३४ ॥

^१ Cf. Suśruta, iv, 22.

सप्तविषवेगातिक्रान्तोऽपि न शक्यते चिकित्सितुम् ।

अथवा वक्तव्यमस्ति चेत् ब्रूहि ।

वैद्यः— गच्छ अङ्घ्रायं विसृज्यो, यमो भोदौय, गच्छामि दाव अङ्घ्रम् ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

(प्रविश्य यमपुरवः)

यम— भोः,

गर्भस्त्रवैश्च पिटकज्वरकर्णरोगै-

र्गुन्माधिशूलहृदयाक्षिशिरोरुहाद्यैः ।

अस्मिन् क्षणे बद्धविधैः खलु विद्रवैश्च

क्षिप्रं कृता यमपुराभिमुखाश्च जीवाः ॥ ३५ ॥

यावदहमपि भगवत्संदेशमनुतिष्ठामि ।

(उपगम्य)

भगवन्मुच्यतां वृषल्याः शरीरम् ।

गणि— कन्दतः ।

यम— (यथाखं जीवविनिमयं कृत्वा) यावदहमपि स्वकार्यमनुष्ठा-
स्यामि ।

(निष्क्रान्तो यमपुरवः)

परि— शाखिल्य शाखिल्य ।

शाखि— एसो खु भववो सभावेण मन्तेदि ।

गणि— परऊदिए परऊदिए ।

चेटौ— एसा खु अज्जुआ सभावेण मन्तेदि ।

माता— जादे वसन्तसेणे ।

रामि— हन्त प्रसन्ना । प्रिये इत इतः ।

(निष्क्रान्ता गणिका माता रामिकः चेटौ च)

¹ गुल्म—evidently a copyist's error for गुल्म, a chronic enlargement of the spleen or any glandular enlargement in the abdomen. Susruta; Varāhamihira's Brhajjātaka, xxi, 8; Kathāsaritsāgara, xv.

शाश्वि— भो भव्यं किं एदम् ।

परि— महती खलु कथा, आवासे कथयिष्यामि ।

(विलोक्य)

गतो दिवसः सम्प्रति हि ।

अस्तं गतो हि दिनद्वयं गगनावलम्बी

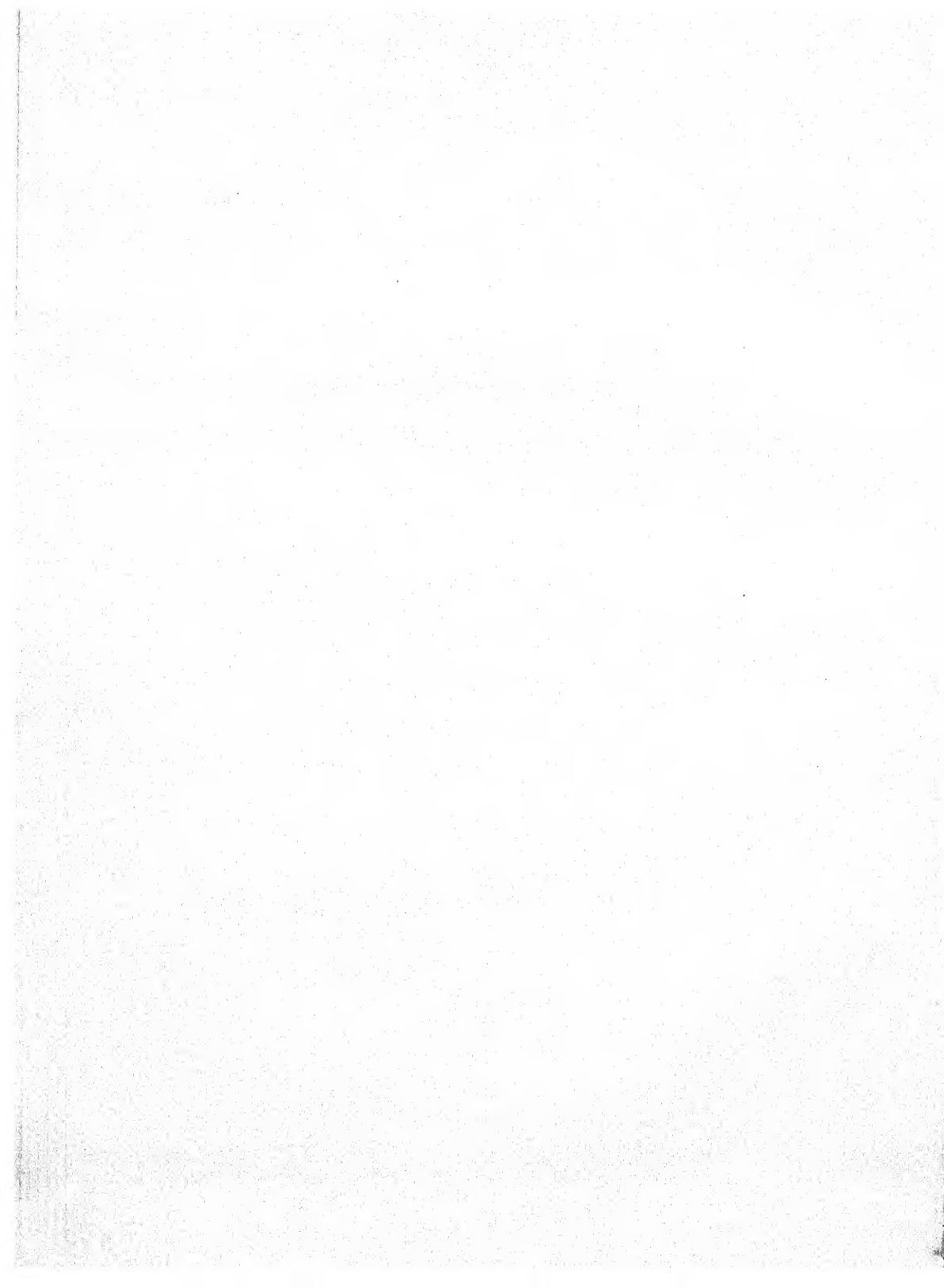
पूषामुखस्य इव तप्तसुवर्णराशिः ।

यस्य प्रभाभिरनुरञ्जितमेघवृन्द-

मालयते दहनगर्भमिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥ ३६ ॥

(निष्क्रान्तः) ।

॥ भगवदञ्जकं नाम ग्रहसनं समाप्तम् ॥



A detailed analysis of the plan and its probable date will appear in a subsequent issue. But the text may be recommended to the unsophisticated reader even without Bergson's¹ caution about the man who, being once asked why he did not weep at a sermon when everybody else was shedding tears, replied: "I don't belong to the parish!" Unlike tears, laughter belongs to all and the *Bhagavadajjukam* provides for the whole parish—whether Hindu or Buddhist, philosopher or layman, not excluding doctors and grammarians.

¹ Bergson, *Laughter*, Trans, Brereton and Rothwell, 1911, p. 6.

IX.—The East India Company of Ostend.

**By R. P. Khosla, M.A., I.E.S., Professor of History,
Muzaffarpur College.**

The series of treaties signed at Utrecht in 1713 which ended the War of the Spanish Succession ushered in a new era. It was marked by greed for material accessions which characterised the different states of Europe. Charles VI the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire acquired the Spanish Low countries by the treaty. He fully understood the significance of the competing ideals of expansion for which the English and the French stood up. The causes of the contest in which England and France had been so long engaged were not entirely or even mainly European. Their interests clashed in the various parts of the world—in America, in India, and in the West Indies. Portugal and Holland had also displayed a considerable amount of activity in the same field. Almost every European country wanted to participate in the lucrative trade of the East. The flourishing condition of the English and the Dutch East India Companies created in him a desire to establish a similar commercial association with a view to get a share in the trade between Europe and the East Indies. The profits made by the English and the Dutch companies were so considerable as to inspire the Holy Roman Emperor to make a bid for that trade. London and Amsterdam had grown immensely rich through eastern commerce. The Emperor saw no reason why one of the towns in his dominions should not become a centre for that commerce and divert the eastern trade to itself. The port of Ostend was favourably situated for the purpose. Prince Eugene favoured this idea of the Emperor as he hoped thereby to make Germany independent of other maritime nations and to increase her influence in Europe. His object was thus commercial as well as political. A few months after, i.e. in 1714, the Emperor

authorised two fleets to arm themselves at Ostend for making a voyage to the East Indies. Other fleets followed soon after. These voyages were on the whole successful. But the success that attended the voyages of the Ostend fleets roused the suspicion and jealousy of the English and the Dutch. One of the Emperor's fleets was captured by the Dutch in the Indian Ocean. The Emperor refused to be discouraged by this first mishap and continued sending his fleets. In 1720 he sent no less than six vessels to India and as many in the following year. This was too much for the English Company who found their interests jeopardised. To safeguard their commercial interests they laid a complaint before the Parliament and invited that body to adopt energetic measures to put down the Ostend enterprise. The chief ground on which the English Company took their stand was that the fleet of Ostend was furnished with men who had mostly seen service under the English or the Dutch and were therefore ineligible to sail under the flag of the Ostend Company. The complaint was not altogether without reason. According to the law of nations prevalent in those times these men were to be considered interlopers because the people of one country were forbidden to engage in a commercial enterprise under the flag of another country or under an unrecognised flag. The English Company obtained in 1721 a renewal of the penalties in such cases. But this proved ineffective and did not check the evil. The Parliament was persuaded to pass another act in 1723 by which the English people were formally forbidden to engage themselves in the commercial concerns of other nations in the East under heavy penalties. Those guilty of violating this law were to be required to pay a fine amounting to three times the sum invested in the enterprise besides the confiscation of the merchandise and the imprisonment of the delinquents. The Ostend Company had roused jealousy and suspicion not only in England but in France and Holland also. The king of France also adopted similar measures for safeguarding the French commerce with the East and passed laws to stop his subjects from interesting themselves

in the affairs of the Ostend Company. On the 16th August of the same year (1723) he forbade his subjects to engage themselves under the flag of the Ostend Company, the violation of this law to be punished with a fine of 3,000 livres, out of which one half was to go to the royal treasury and the other half was to be paid to the person or persons who gave the information. In addition to this the articles of commerce and the ships which took part in the enterprise were to be confiscated.

The Emperor was not discouraged by this combined opposition of England and France. On the contrary he continued to strengthen the position of the Ostend Company. He had to surmount many difficulties. There were as yet no places which his company could claim by any regularly granted title. The connivance of local authorities had however permitted the ships of the Ostend Company to station themselves at Coblen on the coast of Coromandal between Madras and Sadras, at Isapur or Bankibazar on the Hooghly and at some places near Calcutta. The Emperor had no doubt that his efforts will be ultimately crowned with success and one day he would be able to obtain a firman from the nobab permitting him to establish a regular East India Company, and after an experience extending over ten years he thought of completing his work by an official proclamation issued in August 1723 by which he formally constituted the Company of Ostend with a capital of six million florins. The enterprise proved a great success, and by 1726 this company could yield a dividend of 32½ per cent. The French East India Company was not more favourably disposed to the new company than it had been to the individual merchants who had before taken part in the Indian trade with the permission and encouragement of the Emperor. On the 25th February 1726 they (the French Company) invited all their counsels to stop this practice and to send as prisoners all those Frenchmen who were found in the service of the Ostend Company. There was a great commotion at London and Amsterdam also as the success of the Imperial Company made

the Emperor more powerful than before and it was thought necessary to stop its progress at any cost.

At this time the Emperor found himself in great political trouble. His only ally the King of Spain deserted him and there was no other European power on whom he could depend. This was an opportunity that the English and the Dutch could not easily let slip and they thought it was a favourable moment for them to destroy the Imperial Company. In 1727 a congress at Aixla-Chapelle and then at Cambray was convened to examine the situation. The Emperor was most anxious to save the Company of Ostend but he was equally anxious to secure the succession to his throne for his daughter Maria Theresa after his death. He could not therefore afford to alienate either England or France under the circumstances. He was not prepared to destroy the prospects of securing the pragmatic sanction by openly defying other European states. After long negotiations it was agreed that the Company of Ostend could have an establishment in Bengal but that it could not send any fleet before seven years. In the meantime the affairs of the Company were progressing favourably. It obtained official recognition in Bengal. The Nabob Murshid Kuli Khan conferred upon it a parwana in the beginning of 1727 permitting it to establish a regular counting house at Bankibazar. But in obedience to the resolution passed by the Congress of Cambray the Emperor did not send any vessels to India in 1728. However he did not give up the idea of continuing the commerce and at one time he thought of changing the seat of the Company to Fiume or Trieste. The situation of these two ports was less dangerous to London and Amsterdam than Ostend and was likely to be regarded with less disfavour. The Emperor could not get his mind free from these difficulties and realised that in India these events might lead to bloody wars. Then he thought of addressing himself to those foreign companies who made voyages with the regular commissions of their sovereigns but who in reality gave them the authority over their factories. Thus under a borrowed name the Company of Ostend will not meet with any opposition and will be able to flourish. The Emperor with this

object met the King of Denmark, Frederick IV, who granted a special chart to the members of this suppressed company to join themselves with his subjects for the commerce of Bengal. He also established a factory in India at Altona for the execution of this project. The Emperor approached the King of Sweden as well and succeeded in obtaining from him an authority of a similar nature in 1731. Even the King of Poland entered this combination. In 1729 he equipped for India two fleets armed with 36 pieces of canon and having 200 men on board. He gave them regular commissions and the right of hoisting his flag. All these precautions did not deceive the English and the Dutch who could easily see through these projects and rightly looked upon these manœuvres as a veiled attempt to revive the Company of Ostend and they began to checkmate it. They approached the King of Denmark and persuaded him to renounce his establishment of Altona in India. They were not so much concerned about Sweden who was mostly engaged in commerce with China and Japan and who therefore did not constitute a menace to their Indian commerce. As regards the Poloneso from the very beginning they had managed to discourage them to start any operations in India. A present of Rs. 130,000 persuaded the new Nabob Shuja Khan to chase them from the Ganges and with his consent they seized the smaller of the two fleets. The French company, though not favourable to the Ostend enterprise, did not entertain for it the same hatred as the Dutch and the English did, and the French treated the Poloneso with the same reserve. The French Consul at Chandernagore did not associate himself with the capture of their vessel, and offered the protection of his flag to the remaining vessel. The Company approved of this conduct of the consul but then the animosity of the English turned against the French. The former now wanted to appropriate to themselves the right of controlling the French navigation in the Ganges as they were favouring the unavowed commerce of Ostend. Thus the quarrel between the English and the Ostend Companies merged into the much bigger quarrel between the English and the French.

X.—The Black Bhils of Jaisamand Lake in Rajputana (with plates).

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

The Bhils are one of the few aboriginal tribes of India whose name at least is familiar to most Hindus and perhaps to most Indians. References to the tribe by name occur more than once in both the great Hindu epics of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Thus, we read of a Bhil woman making presents of plums to the hero of the Rāmāyana during his exile, of a Bhil huntsman mistaking Sri Krishna for a deer and mortally wounding him, and another Bhil archer practising shooting before a clay image of Drōnāchārya, the great archery expert of Mahābhārata fame, as his preceptor. In Muhammadan annals and in the early annals of the British in India, we read of the turbulent Bhils issuing out now and again from their mountain fastnesses and committing great depredations on the plains both in Northern India and in Western India and of measures taken from time to time either to suppress or to conciliate them.

About specific details of the manners and habits, social customs and institutions, ideas and beliefs of any of the different sections of this widely distributed tribe, however, neither ancient Hindu writers nor mediæval Muhammadan historians appear to have considered it worth their while to enquire. It is only within the last fifty years that some attempts have been made by British officials to collect information about the people and record such information in gazetteers, census reports and similar publications. But unfortunately the information thus collected is necessarily too general and superficial to meet the requirements of the serious student of Anthropology. We sadly miss in these official

documents that detailed exposition of custom and belief, social organisation and kinship system, religious ideas and practices by localities and sections, which is needed for the generalisations of scientific anthropology.

With a view to seeing something of the Bhils in one of their strongholds—the Feudatory state of Mewar in Rajputana—I availed myself of the last autumn holidays to visit that state. The Resident of the State, Mr. W. H. I. Wilkinson, C.I.E., L.C.S., a most courteous and well-informed official, and the Rev. J. Runciman, a missionary gentleman, who has known the Bhils of the state for some time, as well as a few other Indian officials, such as Mr. Provas Chandra Chatterji, the talented and popular Dewan of the State, and the veteran Magistrate of the Magra District all told me of a section of the Bhils known as the Kalia Bhils or Black Bhils who were by some described as possessing Negroid features and differing in material respects from the ordinary or Ujlā Bhils known in Mewar as the Mina Bhils. These Kalia Bhils, I was informed, inhabited the hilly fastnesses of the Kherwara district of the Udaipur state and the islets in the Jaisamand Lake in the Magra district of the State.

I was told by some that these Kalia Bhils really appeared to form an altogether different physical and cultural type from the ordinary Bhils whom I had known on Mount Abu and specimens of whom I saw in the vicinity of the town of Udaipur. This information naturally excited my curiosity to the utmost. I wondered whether the Kalia Bhils could be really a separate tribe with a different origin and heredity or whether the influence of physical environment could be such as to convert a section of the same tribe within a few generations into an altogether different type when removed from one environment to another.

As the road to the Kherwara District was very difficult, I left the Black Bhils of Kherwara for future study and, armed with *parwanas* kindly furnished by the Resident to all “Hakims, Jagirdars, Officers, Police, Danis, Patels, Patwaris, and Gametias” of Magra district to render me such assistance as

might be required, I drove to the banks of the Jaisamand Lake, a distance of some 34 miles from Udaipur and thence went by boat to some Kalia Bhil settlements in the islands of the lake.

Habitat.

The Jaisamand Lake, a vast sheet of deep water artificially embanked, with a circumference of nearly a hundred miles, with grey hills and green jungles skirting its banks and with emerald islands inhabited by rude communities of Bhils, floating on its bosom, presents a most fascinating picture.

Although the beauty of the scenery exceeded my anticipations, I was rather disappointed at not meeting with any Kalia Bhil whose features could be said to approximate to those of a Negro, or indeed were essentially different in type from those of the Ujlā or Mina Bhils, whom I had known in Udaipur and Mount Abu and some of whom I found living in the neighbourhood of these Kalia Bhil settlements of Jaisamand.

Physical Features, Dress, and Dwellings.

A wilder expression in their faces and general deportment and a darker skin colour may indeed be said to distinguish these Kalia Bhils from the Ujlā or Mina Bhils. But the latter, though a shade less dark than the Kalia Bhils, generally exhibit similar physical characteristics — the same long heads, broad noses, medium eyes, plenty of face hair, and medium stature — that I found among the Kalia Bhils. Both are equally well built and active. Although some Ujlā Bhils did appear to have finer features than the Kalias, the Kalia Bhils as a whole appeared to be obviously a section of the same people as the Ujlā Bhils, such differences in physical features and cultural characteristics as occur having presumably arisen through differences in physical environment and social history — through comparative physical and social segregation in the one case and in the other case through contact with higher cultures and borrowing and also to a certain extent apparently of racial miscegenation. The Kalia Bhils themselves do not call the other community "Ujlā" (white or pure) Bhils — a name given to

them by their Hindu neighbours—but designate them as “Pālia Bhils” or Bhils who have the “Pāl” organisation or federation of villages—superimposed above the village organisation. And in the rest of this paper I shall call the so-called “Ujlā” or Mina Bhils by this more expressive name of “Pālia” Bhils.

Although the Black Bhils of Jaisamand do not exhibit a physical type essentially distinct from that of these Pālia Bhils of the Mewar State, the differences in their economic life and social system are more marked, but yet hardly sufficient, I think, to justify their being described as forming a separate cultural type.

In dress, the Pālia Bhils are distinguishable from the Kālia Bhils by their better clothing, and the more numerous brass ornaments and the occasional silver ornaments of their women.

In Plate I, which represents a mixed group of Pālia or Mina Bhils and Kālia Bhils, we can distinguish by their dress the Kālia Bhils on the left from the Pālia Bhils on the right, outside the hut. The hut, however, is a Pālia Bhil hut. In Plate II, the white-bearded man at the back and the two women on the right are Pālia Bhils and the three men on the front are Kālia Bhils.

The huts of the Kālia Bhils as well as the Pālia Bhils are made of wattle-and-daub, the roof being composed of two sloping thatches of grass forming an obtuse angle, but those of the latter are generally more commodious and better built. Whereas the house of each family of Pālia Bhils often stands by itself on some rocky knoll or high ground and is surrounded by a bamboo fence, and a number of such houses form a settlement or “phalā” with a hereditary secular headman whom they call a *gameti* and a *Boba* or priest, a Kālia Bhil settlement or “gām” consists of the huts of three or four families standing close to each other with no fencing to mark off one from the other, and managed by a *Gāḍḍo* or village headman who generally acts also as the *Bōbā* or priest of the settlement.

Economic Condition.

In their method of food-quest the Kālia Bhils differ materially from that of the Pālia Bhils. Whereas the latter now-a-days

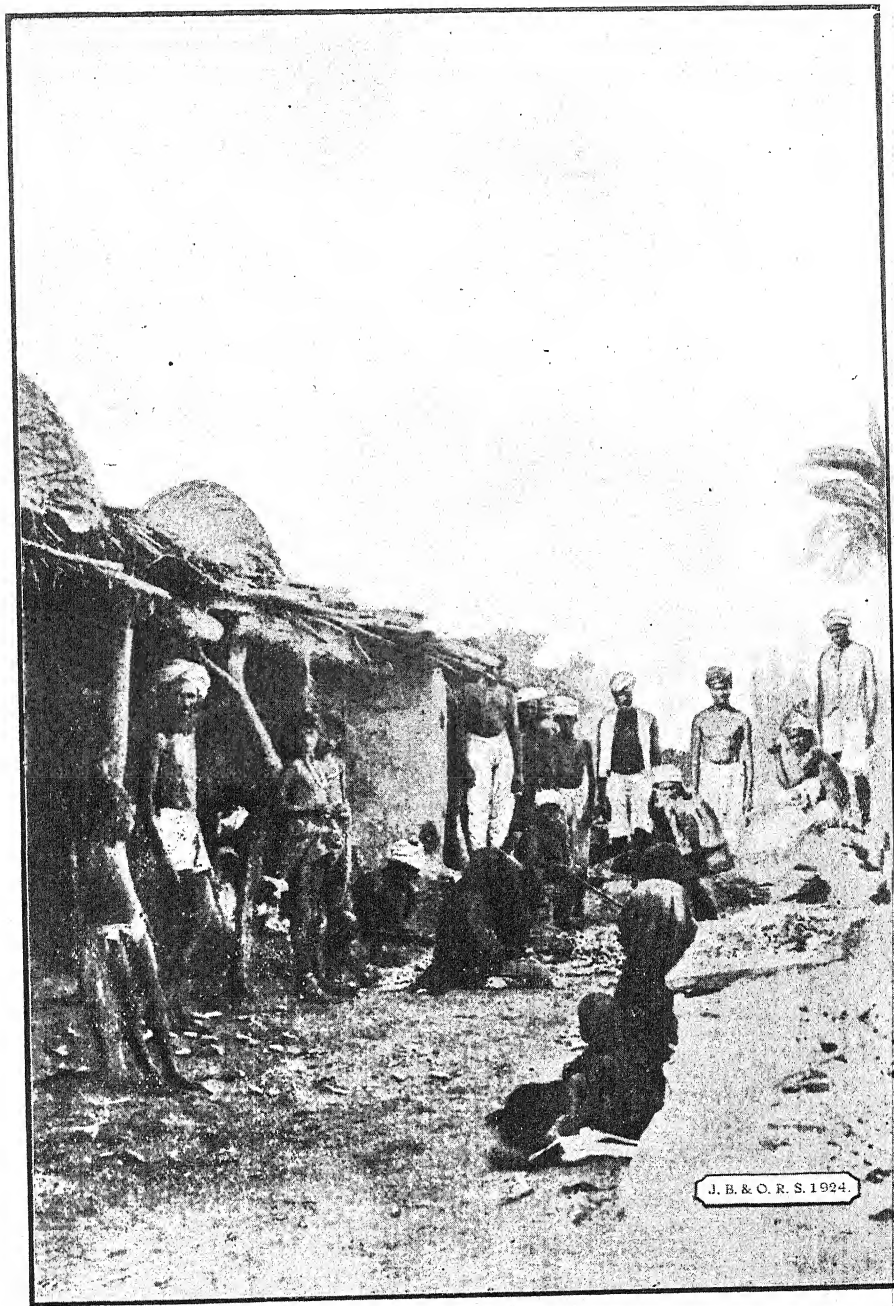
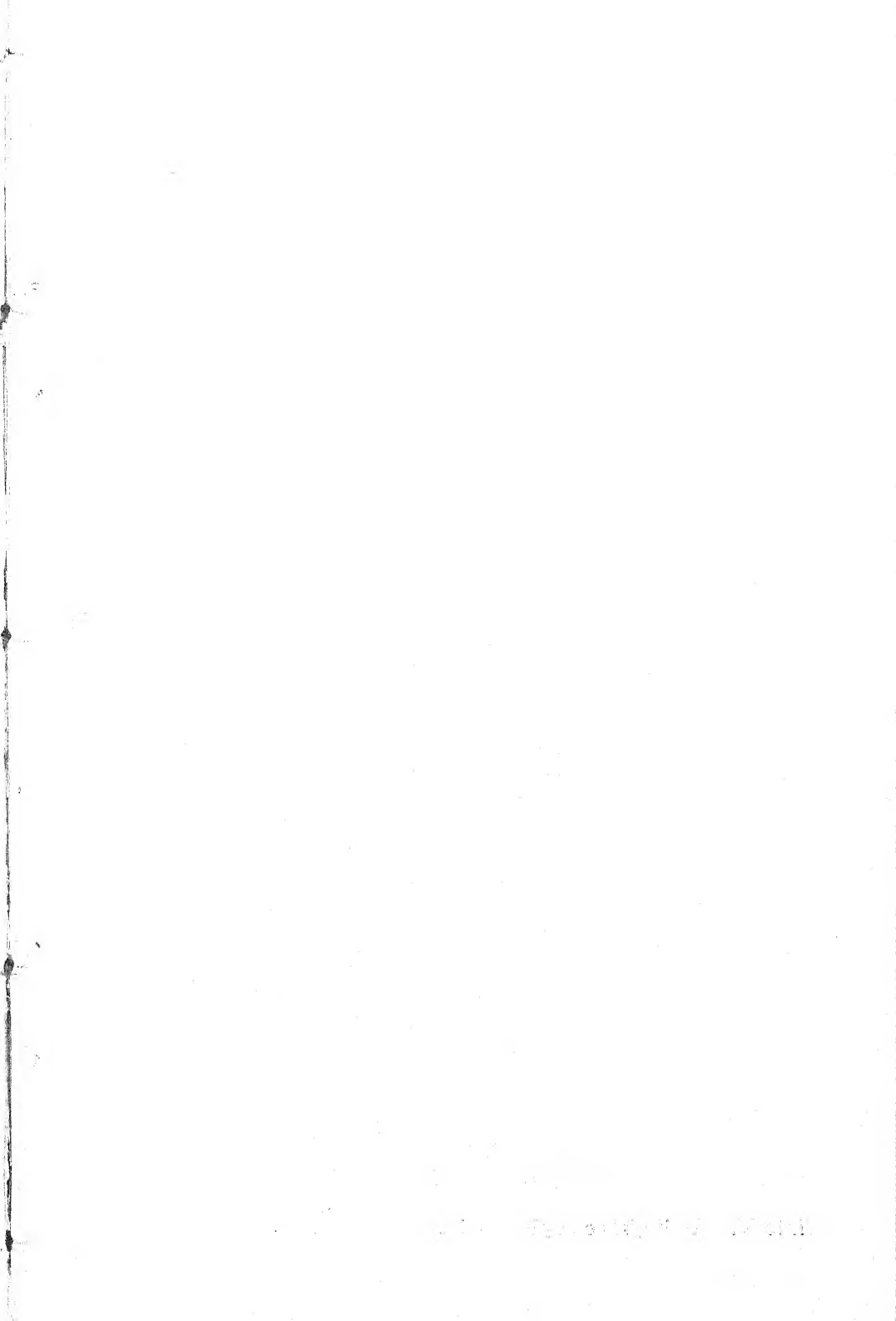


Plate I. A group of Bhils and portion of a Bhil hut.





Plate II. A group of Bhils.





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Plate V. Bhil girls carrying maize from the fields.





Plate IV. Bhils gathering lotus plants in the Jaisamand Lake.

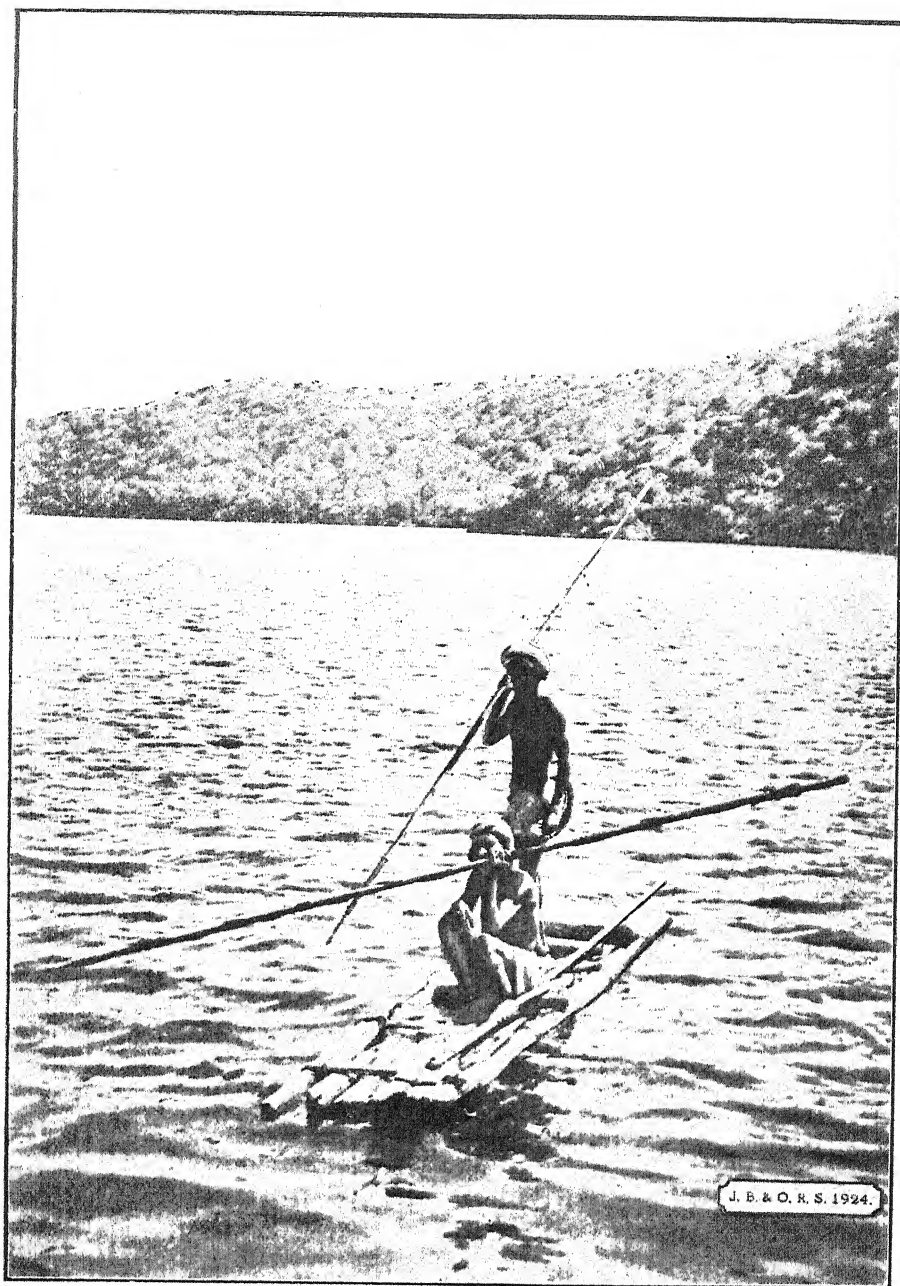


Plate III. Crocodile-fishing of the Bhils on Jaisamand Lake.

depend more on agriculture than on hunting or fishing, the food-quest of the Kalia Bhils of the Jaisamand Lake assume three main forms of activity, viz., (1) fishing in the lake, (2) collecting lotus plants and water-cresses in the lake and (3) a rudimentary agriculture. Their islands are getting denuded of forests and so no longer afford as much scope as before for hunting wild animals. The bow and arrow is indeed the national weapon of the Bhils, and the Kalia Bhil is an expert in using it. But the fishing spear is the more distinctive weapon of the Kalia Bhil of the Jaisamand Lake at the present day. With huge spears he moves about in his rafts looking for crocodiles in the lake, and, when any is in sight, hurls his spear at it with an unerring aim. The spear-head is attached to the spear with a string, and when the animal is transfixed with the spear-head, the handle of the spear is let go and remains floating in the water so that the victim can be pursued until it dies. The use of fishing nets or traps is unknown.

Plate III shows a couple of Kalia Bhils in a raft about to spear a crocodile. In these exciting crocodile hunts, generally four or five *tapus* or rafts go together, but sometimes even one or two *tapus* only may be seen engaged in such hunts. The quieter occupation of gathering lotus plants and water-cresses in the lake is often pursued singly by the Kalia Bhil, either an adult or a boy, in his raft. Plate IV shows such rafts employed for the purpose. These rafts are made of logs of wood tied together. Men, women, and even boys among the Kalia Bhils are expert in rowing their frail rafts in the lake. I have seen a little boy of not more than twelve years of age adroitly and intrepidly plying his frail raft in the lake alone after sunset from the station of Jaisamand to his island home—a distance of about six miles.

Such superficial agriculture as the Kalia Bhils practise, generally consists in growing *gugri* or maize and a few common vegetables. The collection of vegetable food is mainly the occupation of women as the collection of food by hunting and fishing is the occupation of men. Plate V shows two

Kālia Bhil girls carrying their scanty produce of maize pods, with their stems and leaves, from their field to their huts.

Of manufactures, the Kālia Bhils have practically none unless we count as such the manufacture of their bamboo bows and arrow handles and spear handles and plaited bamboo quivers for arrows. The arrow-heads and spear-heads, like their other weapons and implements, are purchased from neighbouring black-smiths, as their scanty clothes and ornaments, pottery and other domestic utensils are secured by purchase from outsiders.

I shall not go into further details of the rudimentary technical culture of the Kālia Bhils which has been to a great extent conditioned by their comparatively isolated habitat in the Jaisamand Lake. I shall now give a brief outline of their social and religious systems.

Social Organisation.

The social groupings of the Kālia Bhils are of the simplest forms. Whereas among the Pālia Bhils a number of villages or "phalās," as they call them, are grouped together into a "Pāl" for purposes of corporate socio-economic action, the Kālia Bhils know no higher socio-economic organisation than that of the village or *gām* which, again, in their case, is very much smaller than the average village or "phalā", as it is called, of the Pālia Bhils.

Whereas different Kālia Bhil settlements of the Jaisamand Lake, at any rate, do not associate together for purposes of fishing, spearing crocodiles, or other modes of food-quest, the Pālia Bhils on the borders of the Mewar State, living by the side of the Sōm river generally do so. Ten or twelve villages of Pālia Bhils, both in Mewar and in the neighbouring state of Dungarpur, who live on the banks of the Sōm associate together in fishing expeditions, in which a portion of the stream is dammed up and hundreds of fish killed by vegetable poison (the poison used being the juice of the *thor* or *Phani mansa* plant). The headmen of a number of Pāls of the Pālia Bhils also associate together, when occasion arises, to discuss matters of common social or socio-political interest. The secular affairs of the Kālia Bhil

village are in the charge of the *Gāḍḍo* whose post is ordinarily hereditary, but when the son of a deceased *Gāḍḍo* is considered unfit by the community, the villagers may elect another man in his place. The bifurcation of the functions of secular and sacerdotal headmanship now existing among the Pālia Bhils has hardly yet arisen among the Kālia Bhils. Generally the *Gāḍḍo* or secular headman also acts as the *Bōba* or priest of the settlement.

When we turn from economic groupings to the purely social and kinship groupings of the Kālia Bhils, we find that as among the Pālia Bhils, the Kālia Bhils too recognise the consanguinous group of the clan above the domestic group of the unilateral family. Their clan organisation is quite unconnected with the economic grouping of the village inasmuch as the different families in a Kālia Bhil settlement generally belong to different clans. In this they differ from the Pālia Bhils whose villages or "phalās", as they call them, are each inhabited mostly by families descended of the original founder of the village after whom the "phalā" is named, so that a totemic group also forms a local group.

As the main function of the *gām* or village organisation is the procuring of food and the protection of property, and the main function of the family is the rearing of children and determining their status in the community, so the main function of the Kālia Bhil clan system, as of the clan systems of other tribes, is the regulation of marriage and kinship.

Totemism and Kinship

Bhil clans of the Kālias as well as of the Pālias are of the kind known as totemic. But among the Kālia Bhils totemism is at the present day hardly anything more than a mechanism for regulating marriage and, so far as I could see, stands quite outside their religion, whereas totemism among the Pālias has either retained or acquired a religious aspect. Thus the *Suān gōt* or Black Nāg serpent clan of the Pālia Bhils, I learnt, kindle a light and burn incense every evening in the name of the totem. Besides the usual taboo against killing or hunting a Nāg serpent, a member of the clan coming across a dead Nāg serpent is in

duty bound to cremate it. It is very significant that among the Pālia Bhils inter-marriage is prohibited not only between persons of the same clan as among the Kālias, but also between persons of different clans if they sacrifice to the same clan gods. The Kālia Bhils of Jaisamand Lake do not appear to have any tradition of descent from the totem animal or plant. Nor do they appear to have any stories as to the origin of the different clans. Nor does any particular clan follow any special occupation as its particular function.

As regards marriage and kinship, a Kālia Bhil may not marry in his own clan nor in the clan of his mother's father. Thus the simple rule of clan exogamy is supplemented by a further restriction to marriage out of regard for the clans of the mother's father. Among the Pālia Bhils of Udaipur this restriction extends also to the clans of the grandmother's father. Not only has the husband's younger brother of a deceased Bhil the right to marry her, if he wishes, but even her late husband's nephews if younger than him, claim such right. The late husband's younger brother is entitled to compensation if the widow marries another man. Descent is patrilineal, a child belonging to the clan of his father and not to that of his mother. Marriage is patrilocal, the wife being taken to her husband's place and living with her husband's people. Inheritance of property and succession to office and rank are also patrilineal, a son inheriting the property of his father and succeeding to his rank or office, if any, such as *gāḍḍoship* and *Bōbāship*. The type of family is patripotestal, the father exercising supreme authority over his children. The mother's wishes however are not disregarded.

As for kinship nomenclature, the Bhils, Kālia as well as Pālia who have both lost their tribal language, now use the terms in use amongst their Hindu neighbours, so that the original nature of the system is rather obscured, although it would seem to have been of the nature of what is known as the classificatory system. A list of kinship terms in use among the Kālia Bhils of the Jaisamand Lake is given in the Appendix.

Kinship Taboos.

Husband and wife are not permitted by custom to mention each other's name, as such mention, it is believed, would bring famine or other calamity to the settlement. Husband and wife in calling or referring to each other generally use their children's names, such as "so-and-so's father" or "so-and-so's mother." The expressions "gaharevalo" (master of the house) and "gharwali" (mistress of the house) are also used. The wife of a younger brother calls her husband's elder brother *jethji* but must not take his name, nor must she take the name of her husband's father.

A Bhil woman in the Mewar State, whether Kalia or Palia, is required to draw her veil over her face in the presence of all persons related to her as *sasura* and *jeth* in the classificatory sense, such as the husband's father, husband's father's brother, husband's elder brother, husband's mother's brother, husband's mother's sister's husband and husband's father's sister's husband.

Kinships salutations.

A Bhil woman, both among the Kalias and the Palias, has to fall at their feet without touching them in saluting the following relations of her husband, namely, her husband's father, father's brother, elder brother, mother's brother, mother's sister's husband, father's sister's husband.

The general rule as to salutations among the Kalia Bhils is to fall at the feet of those who might be called "superior" relations and embrace those who may be said to be "equals" in kinship status.

These rules as to salutations appear to be more strict in the case of women than of men.

Particular duties and functions belong to certain kin on occasions of birth, death and marriage. I shall conclude with a brief account of the customs of the Kalia Bhils at these important crises of the individual's life.

Birth Customs.

A female relative of the parturient woman, either her mother or her sister, or failing them her husband's mother,

attends her, and cuts the navel string which is buried outside the hut, usually by the younger brother of her husband. On a Sunday, five or six days later, the mother bathes, while a number of females sing songs and are entertained with *gugris* or maize pods boiled in water.

Sons are greatly hankered after by the Bhils as well as other tribes and castes of Rajputana, whereas the birth of a daughter is regarded as an unwelcome addition to the family, as the following couplet current in Rajputana indicates :—

Pendō bhālo nā kōs-kō : Beṭi bhāli nā ek

Denō bhālō nā bāp-kō, Sāheb rākhe tek

i. e., "A journey on foot even for a *kos* or two miles is not good nor even a single daughter. A debt even to a father is not good (i. e. desirable). May God save us from these." Vows are generally taken by a sonless couple to perform a ceremony called *neolo* in honour of some deity or other whose help is invoked to bless them with a son. On the occasion of the *Dewāli* festival following the birth of a son, the vow is fulfilled by placing a small heap of maize in front of the hut and planting a bamboo pole in the centre of this heap. The *ghāgra* or skirt of the baby's mother is fitted on to the bamboo pole and on the upper end of the pole a *lōṭā* or brass-jug is placed with its mouth downwards. The bamboo pole is planted and decorated in this manner in the small hours of the morning preceding the *dewāli* night, and in the *dewāli* night this pole and the maize heap is illuminated with small earthen lamps. On the *dewāli* day, the *Bua* or father's sister of the baby brings presents of a small *āngrākhi* or coat, one *āngōchhā* or towel, two *kōdios* or ear-rings, and one *hānsli* or necklet and one cloth cap, and puts these on him, perforates his ears and then takes the child seven times round a *semar* tree (*Bombax malabaricum*). The *Bua* in her turn receives from the child's father the present of a cloth. The same day the child's 'māmā' or mother's brother, also comes with presents of one cloth for his sister and a towel (*gōsō*) for his sister's husband, and the latter in his turn gives presents of a cloth and a towel to him. These customs are on the whole

common both to the Kālia Bhils and the Pālia Bhils of the Mewar State. Ten or twelve days later, the hair of the infant is shaved by a relative among the Kālia Bhils and by a barber among the *Pālias*.

A man whose sons have all died shortly after birth generally takes a *bōlmā* or vow to offer the hair of the child's head to some deity when the child should attain a specified age. This vow is known as *jharhoola-ri-bolma* (vow of hair). And when this vow is fulfilled, the child is named after such deity. Thus, if the hair is dedicated to Gōtamji or to Kālāji or to Rām Deo, the child is named either Gōtam or Kālā or Rāmla, as the case may be.

Marriage Customs.

The betrothal is arranged by the parents through some intermediary. The proposal of marriage emanates from the side of the boy's parents. The parents of a Kālia Bhil boy have to pay Rs. 16 as *dāpe* or bride-price out of which five rupees is given back as the price of a blanket, being a return present to the bridegroom. Among the Pālia Bhils the bride-price payable is as high as Rs. 65. The Kālia Bhil bridegroom has no special dress except that he must put on a yellow turban on his head and a white handkerchief round his neck and carry a sword in his hand, although the sword is not in ordinary use among the Kālia Bhils.

One interesting custom which the Bhils practise in common with other castes and tribes of Rajputana is what is known as "Bōba denā" or giving the breast. Just before the bridegroom starts for the bride's house for marriage, his mother has to give her breast to him, and the son sucks his mother's breast in the presence of all assembled relatives and tribe-fellows. In the absence of the mother, either the step-mother, if any, or the elder sister or the elder brother's wife or the uncle's wife enjoys the privilege. In the case particularly of Hindu castes, it is reported that it not unoften falls to the lot of a young girl to suckle a grey-haired bridegroom about to marry for the fourth or fifth time. The Kālia Bhils believe that if this ceremony is

omitted, death or other Clamity will overtake the bridegroom. The custom is ordinarily explained as the last suck indicating the termination of the dependance of the son upon his mother. It would perhaps appear more reasonable to regard it as intended to emphasize the inalienability of the natural tie between mother and son. This is more directly indicated by the analogous custom among Bengali Hindus of all castes. Among them a son when about to start in his bridal procession and taking leave of his mother, is asked by her "Where are you going, my boy?" And the son replies, "I am going to bring a maid to serve you, mother."

Just when the bridal party starts, women throw salt and a bit of turmeric over the head of the bridegroom to protect him from evil spirits. Both male and female relatives join the bridal party.

On his arrival at the bride's house, the bridegroom is received by his mother-in-law who marks his forehead with *kanku* and ties a handkerchief round his neck and leads him to the *mārwā* or marriage booth by holding him by this handkerchief. On the *mārwā* a small diagram in the shape of a square is drawn with flour, and a mango-twigg is planted at each corner of it and a cocoanut is placed in the centre. Nowadays even the Kālia Bhils call some degraded Brāhman to officiate at their marriages. And the Brahman pours some *ghee* or clarified butter over the cocoanut and sets fire to it by way of *hāban* or *hōm*, and places the right hand of the bridegroom over the left hand of the bride and utters some *mantrams* or ritual formulæ. Then with hands thus joined (*hathleo jorhuo*), the couple perform the *fera* ceremony by walking four times round this diagram in one direction and three times in the opposite direction, the bridegroom leading the bride. When the hands are separated (*hathlewo chorhawe*) the parents of the bride give thier daughter a brass plate, a brass jug or *lō'a*, a she-goat or, if possible, a cow, besides such ornaments as *churi*, or bangles, *churo* or armlets, *pinja* or anklets and *kumbia* which is another kind of ornament worn on the feet.

Customs and Ceremonies at Death.

The dead body of a Kālia Bhil is carried out of the house with head forward on a bamboo bier. Female relatives accompany the funeral procession, weeping and lamenting in chorus. Female relatives from the settlement who may have received the information join the procession and the ceremonial wailing. Fire in an earthen pot, and one big *lādḍu* or roundish cake made of flour and molasses and *ghee*, are carried to the cremation ground by the chief mourner—either a son or next-of-kin. Arrived at the cremation ground or *masān* the *lādḍu* is broken into pieces, which are scattered all over the *masān*, and then the bier, with the corpse on it, is placed on the ground. The chief mourner once circumambulates the bier and then places a lighted faggot underneath the corpse. On the third day from this, he goes to the *masān*, takes up the ashes from which he picks out the charred bones, and puts the bones in a bamboo basket (*sundla*) which is then thrown into some river, stream or lake.

On the third, fifth or sixth day from the death—either on a Monday, Tuesday or Saturday—the kinsmen of the deceased shave themselves and bathe. Then barley bread (*dāl-bāṛī*) is offered in the fire in the name of the deceased, after which relatives and tribe-fellows are entertained to a feast. Similarly *dāl-bāṛī* or barley bread is again offered to the spirit of the deceased either half a year or one year after death. This ceremony is known as *kāṭṭā*.

When a woman dying in child-birth is being carried to the cremation ground, some relative follows the corpse with a quantity of mustard seeds which he goes on scattering on the way so that her spirit being unable to collect all the seeds before the day dawns may not return to the house or village. Such a corpse is burnt after the womb is ripped open; and the baby in the womb is buried. So also a child dying within a month or two after birth is also buried and not burnt.

The members of the deceased's family must not take part in any song, dances, drinking-bouts and festivals until the

shōkbbhōngna or "Grief-dismissing" ceremony is performed at the first Hōli, Dewālī or Rakhi festival following the death. On this occasion relatives of the family come, weep in chorus and drink in company; and thus is the grief banished.

The spirit of a woman dying in child-birth or in pregnancy is believed to become a *Churuel*, and of a man killed with a sword, gun, or arrow is believed to become a *bhūt*. These bhūts are buried at the spots where they have been killed, and stone heaps are placed over their graves. Curiously enough these stone heaps are known by the name of Pālias. When any Bhil passes by the side of such a Pālia, he is required to place a pebble over it.

Religion.

To the Kālīa Bhil, as to other tribes on the same level of culture, everything above, below or around him is animated by a spirit as every human being is animated during life by a soul. After death, the disembodied soul joins the host of spirits, and according as the soul was powerful or beneficent or otherwise in life, the spirit remains powerful or beneficent or otherwise in his relations to the living.

In his absorbing quest for food and his efforts to preserve life and health, the Bhil seeks to avert the evil attentions and secure the good will of different spirits by offering sacrifices to them. Besides the spirits of dead human beings, there are other classes of spirits whose good wishes have to be secured and evil attentions averted to secure good luck and avoid bad luck in food-quest, health, and progeny. Thus, the Kālīa Bhil while starting on a crocodile fishing expedition takes a vow to *Manchhi Mātā* or the presiding deity of aquatic creatures to offer rice and cocoanut to the deity if the expedition proves successful. Similarly the Pālia Bhil, when about to sow maize on certain fields, anoints oil and vermilion on a stone planted in the field to represent Bhairoji, and, when the new maize is brought home, five pods of maize are offered to *Bhairoji*, *Hanumanji* and other village deities.

The religion of the Kalia Bhils, although essentially animistic, has now taken a slight veneer of Hinduism, a number of Hindu deities having been included in their pantheon. Among such deities may be mentioned Gotam Nath, Charbajae, Sumaliāji, Badri Narain, Hardwārka Rānā, Kalāji, Kalka Mātā, Silā Mātā, Khāgal Deb, Harumān, Bijwā Mātā, Onthelā Mātā, Ambā Mātā, Narsinghi, Kontwā Mātā, Hāngir Mātā, Ekling Maharaj, Rikhav Deo and Rām Deo. A point of special interest to the anthropologist appears to be that whereas the Pālia Bhils have a special god for each *gōḷ* or clan, the Kalia Bhils have no special clan-gods.

Thus although in their economic life, owing to their lake habitat, the mode of food-quest of the Kalia Bhils differs from those of the Pālia Bhils, and owing to their segregation in their island homes and comparatively lesser contact with other peoples, the Kalia Bhils are more backward than the Pālia Bhils in their social organization and religious ideas, the type of culture of these two sections of the Bhils cannot be said to be essentially dissimilar and there can be no doubt that racially they are two sections of the same tribe.

Appendix'.

A list of relationship terms in use among the Kalia Bhils of Jaisamand is given below :—

Father	...	...	...	<i>Dājī.</i>
Mother	...	...	...	<i>Mā.</i>
Brother	...	...	...	<i>Bhāi.</i>
Mother's brother's son	...	...	...	<i>Bāhi.</i>
Elder brother	...	...	...	<i>Dādā.</i>
Sister	...	...	...	<i>Bahan.</i>
Mother's brother's daughter	...	...	...	<i>Bahan.</i>
Father's elder brother	...	...	...	<i>Bābaji.</i>
Father's younger brother	...	...	...	<i>Kākājī.</i>
Father's elder brother's wife	...	...	...	<i>Bābī.</i>
Father's younger brother's wife	...	...	...	<i>Kākī.</i>
Mother's brother	...	...	...	<i>Māmā.</i>

Mother's brother's wife ...	...	Māmi.
Husband's elder brother ...	...	Jekh.
Husband's younger brother...	...	Dewār.
Husband's sister ...	...	Nanad ; Nanadi.
Mother's sister ...	...	Māsi.
Mother's sister's husband ...	...	Māsā.
Father's father ...	...	Moṭā.
Father's mother ...	...	Moṭi.
Son ...	...	Beṭā.
Daughter ...	...	Beṭi.
Father's brother's son ...	...	Bhāi.
Father's brother's daughter ...	...	Bahan.
Younger brother... ...	...	Bhāi.
Mother's sister's son ...	...	Bhāi.
Mother's sister's daughter...	...	Bahan.
Brother's son ...	...	Bhātijā.
Wife's brother's son ...	...	Bhātijā.
Brother's daughter ...	...	Bhātiji.
Wife's brother's daughter...	...	Bhātiji.
Sister's child ...	...	Bhānej.
Sister's son ...	...	Bhānjā.
Sister's daughter ...	...	Bhānji.
Husband's sister's child ...	...	Bhānej.
Husband's sister's son ...	...	Bhānjā.
Husband's sister's daughter	...	Bhānji.
Son's son ...	...	Pōtā.
Daughter's son ...	...	Duitā.
Mother's father ...	...	Nānā.
Mother's mother ...	...	Nāni ; Dhani.
Father's sister ...	...	Bhūā.
Father's sister's husband ...	...	Phūā.
Husband ...	...	Gharwālā ; Dhani.
Wife ...	...	Gharwāli.
Wife's father ...	...	Hāhāroji.
Daughter's husband ...	...	Jamāi.
Husband's father ...	...	Hahāroji.

Wife's mother	...	...	<i>Hāuji</i> ; <i>Hāhuji</i> .
Husband's mother	...	...	<i>Hauji</i> .
Son's wife	...	...	<i>Bahū</i> .
Wife's brother	...	...	<i>Sālā</i> .
Wife's sister	...	...	<i>Sāli</i> .
Sister's husband	...	...	<i>Bahanoi</i> .
Wife's sister's husband	...	...	<i>Sārhu</i> .
Brother's wife	...	...	<i>Bahu</i> (if younger).
Husband's elder brother's wife	...	...	<i>Jeṭhāni</i> .
Husband's younger brother's wife	...	...	<i>Dewrāni</i> .
Son's wife's parents	...	...	<i>Boyāi</i> ; <i>Sagā</i> .

XI.—Studies in the Cults of the District of Champāran in North Bihār.

No. II.—The Cult of the Goddessling Dowār Devī.

**By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., Lecturer in Social
Anthropology, University of Calcutta.**

The second of the village-deities, which is much worshipped and prayed to by the residents of the town of Motihārī—the headquarters station of the district of Champāran in North Bihār—is the goddessling Dowār Devī (दोवार देवी.)

Account of the Cult of Dowār Devī.

The shrine of this goddessling—Dowār Devī (or “the Goddess of the Doorway”)—is situated under a pipul tree (*Ficus religiosa*), the roots of which have been enclosed in a *pucca* masonry platform. The shrine of this goddessling is, therefore, situated almost in the centre of this platform at the foot of the tree.

This shrine of the goddessling Dowār Devī is situated a little to the north-west of the northern end of the lane which leads off from the Club Road to the shrine of Berehhe Deo. I visited this shrine, on Saturday the 26th May 1923, in the company of P. K. Mitra, Esq., M.Sc., Deputy Magistrate of Motihārī. It is stated that, to the east of this shrine, was the house of the Bhumi-hār *raīs* Berehhe Rāi whose spirit has now been canonised and is worshipped in the famous shrine on the north bank of the lake in the western outskirts of the town of Motihārī. *It is further stated that this goddessling was worshipped at the doorway (or gateway) of the aforementioned house of Berehhe Rāi.* Hence her name *Dowār Devī* or “the Goddessling of the Doorway.”

This goddessling is worshipped throughout the year, as also, like Berehhe Deo, on Sundays in the month of Baisākh

(April-May), on the Pūrnamāsī (or full-moon day), in Sāwan (July-August), and on Sundays in the month of Aghan (November-December). Unlike Berchhe Deo, this goddessling has no priest. The same sorts of offerings are given to her as those given to the godling Berchhe Deo. But no clay figurines of elephants are offered to this goddessling. The mound of clay is besmeared with vermilion as an act of worship. Flags surmounting long bamboo-poles are also offered to Dowār Devī.

The pipal tree which overshadows the miniature rude shrine of Dowār Devī is sacred to her. I opine that this invisible shadowy being — the goddessling Dowār Devī — has her habitation also in this tree. When the market of the Bettiah Raj was established in the neighbourhood of this locality, the Raj authorities wanted to cut this sacred tree. But the people of the locality filed a petition before the Collector of Champaran praying that this sacred tree might not be cut. This prayer was granted and so this tree was not cut and is standing to the present day.

No songs are sung by the worshippers of Dowār Devī in her honour at the time of worshipping her. There appear to be no folk-rhymes or folk-ballads extant about her.

From the similarity of the worship of this goddessling to that of the godling Berchhe Deo, I presume that she is also worshipped for obtaining the same boons as those prayed for from the godling Berchhe Deo, namely, the attainment of one's heart's desires and success in litigation.

All the foregoing information about Dowār Devī was communicated to me by Mahant Gharib Dās (of the Vaishṇava Sect) who lives close to the shrine of Berchhe Deo.

From the foregoing account of the goddessling Dowār Devī, we find :—

- (1) That she has not yet been provided with a regularly-constructed brick-built shrine.
- (2) That her rude symbol—the mound of clay—has been installed inside a small niche or an apology for a miniature shrine.

- (3) That this small niche with the goddessling's symbol inside it has been placed at the foot of the sacred pipal tree.
- (4) That she has not yet been provided with any anthropomorphic image.
- (5) That she has no appointed priest to carry on her worship or puja.
- (6) That no clay figurines of elephants are presented to her by way of offering.
- (7) That poles of bamboos surmounted with bannerettes, along with the other prescribed offerings, are offered to her.

The foregoing points (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5) lead me to the conclusion that this goddessling was originally some shadowy and invisible being—the impersonation or embodiment of some “Power or Force of Nature”—which was revered and prayed to by the non-Aryan aboriginal peoples who dwelt, during the prehistoric ages, in this forest-clad region which is comprised within the district of Champaran. With reference to this, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley says : “Local tradition asserts that, in the early ages, Champaran was a dense primeval forest, in whose solitude the Brāhmaṇa hermits studied the *āraṇyakas* which, as their name implies, were to be read in the sylvan retreats ; and the name Champaran itself is said to be derived from the fact that the district was formerly one vast forest (*aranya*) of *Champā* (*Mitchelia champaca*) trees. It is, at least, certain that, in the Vishṇu and other Purāṇas, mention is often made of a Champaka-aranya stretching along the Sātgrāmi or Nārāyaṇi river, which is another name for the Gundak ; and, according to the descriptions contained in ancient writings, it was a place of retreat for Hindu ascetics, where, removed from worldly ambitions, they could contemplate the Eternal Presence in the silence of a vast untrodden forest.”¹

¹ Bengal District Gazetteer—Champaran. By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. 1907. Page 15.

This cult of the non-Aryan aborigines must have been adopted by the neighbouring Hindus from the former and assimilated into their own religion. I am inclined to think that when the forest was cleared and the town of Motihāri was founded, the local habitation of this shadowy and invisible being, who had been dispossessed from her natural and fitting dwelling-place was transferred to the doorway of what must, at that time, have been the residential house of Berchhe Rai or Birchhe Nath. In this way this goddessling acquired her name of Dowār Devī or "the goddessling of the Doorway." In this position, she discharged the functions of a *dvārapāla* or the supernatural warden of Birchhe Rai's house.

Subsequently, when Birchhe Rai's house gradually fell into disrepair and ruins, and ultimately ceased to exist, the local habitation of this goddessling came to be transferred to its present situation at the foot of the pipal-tree near the Bettiah Raj market in the Mess Court mahallā of Motihāri.

This goddessling Dowār Devī occupies, at the present time, a very inferior position in the hierarchy of the Hindu gods and goddesses. As the result of the process of transformation which is now at work and by which inferior godlings and goddesslings are being promoted higher and higher as second-grade and first-grade members of the Hindu pantheon, it is just possible that Dowār Devī may, in course of time, come to be looked upon as one of the numerous incarnations of the first-grade goddess Durgā, and thus acquire the brevet-rank of a first-class divinity.

That what I have stated above is quite in accordance with facts, will best appear from the following remarks of Miss C. S. Burne :—

"In many places, as the pilgrim ascends to the greater temples, he comes to a place whence the first view of the shrine is obtained. This is known as the *devadekhni* or the spot from which the deity is viewed. This is generally occupied by some lower-class deity who is just beginning to be considered respectable. Then comes the temple dedicated to the warden, and lastly the real shrine itself. There can be little doubt that this

represents the process by which gods which are now admittedly within the circle of deities of the first-class, such as the beast-incarnations of Vishnu, the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa and the Śaktis or the impersonations of the female energies of Nature, underwent a gradual elevation. *This process is still going on before our eyes.* Thus the familiar Gor Bābā, a deified ghost of the aboriginal races, has, in many places, become a new manifestation of Śiva as Goreśvara. Similarly the powerful and malignant goddesses, who were, by ruder tribes, propitiated by the sacrifice of a buffalo or a goat, have been annexed to Brahmanism as two of the numerous forms of Durgā Devī by the transparent fiction of a Bhairāsuri and Kālī Devī. In the case of the former her origin is clearly proved by the fact that she is regarded as a sort of tribal deity of the mixed class of Kanhpuriyā Rājputs in Oudh. Similarly, Mahāmāi or the 'Great Mother', a distinctively aboriginal goddess, whose shrine consists of a low, flat mound of earth, with seven knobs of coloured clay in a single row at the head or west side, has been promoted into the higher pantheon as Jagadambā Devī or the 'Mother of the world'.¹

Then, I shall pass on to the consideration of the point (6) mentioned *supra*. I have already shown, in my study of the cult of the godling Birchhe Deo, that sick men, on recovering from their illnesses, present clay figurines of elephants to the goddess Kālī, notwithstanding the fact that she is a female deity. I am inclined to think that these offerings are made to her simply for the reason that her deityship has an anthropomorphic image. Then again, I have shown in my dissertation that persons, who have safely tided over some difficulties, or have been relieved of some troubles, make offerings of little clay images of the same beast to the village godlings who are worshipped in the *deohārs* of the Gangetic valley of Upper India. To my mind, the reason for the making of these offerings to these last-mentioned village-godlings appears to be the fact that their godlingships are not females. I am, therefore, of

¹ *The Handbook of Folklore.* By C. S. Burne. New Edition. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Limited, 1914. Pages 122-123.

opinion that clay figurines of elephants are not presented to the goddessling Dowār Devī, firstly, because she is a female deity and, secondly, because she has no anthropomorphic image.

Lastly, I shall take up for discussion the point (7) which has been mentioned above, namely, the presentation of the offerings of bamboo-poles having bannerettes tied at their tops. I am inclined to think that the presentation of these bannerettes is another modification of the custom of making rag-offerings.

I have already shown elsewhere¹ that the undermentioned five motives lie at the basis of the custom of making rag-offerings :—

1. That the illness or some other physical disability of the person making the rag-offerings may be expelled or transferred to some one else.
2. That the spirits or godlings dwelling in some sacred trees or groves may be propitiated.
3. That the spirits which inhabit some mountain pass or crag may be propitiated.
4. That the mountain-spirit, which is adored and prayed to by the Afghans, may be so propitiated that he may grant his votaries the boon of children.
5. That the spirits or souls of the deceased Pirs or holy men of the Kirghiz tribe of Central Asia may be propitiated.

From a careful examination of the ritual connected with the cult of the goddessling Dowār Devī, I am inclined to think that the votaries of her goddesslingship are prompted either by the first or the second of the aforementioned five motives in making to her the offering of the bamboo-poles having bannerettes tied at their tops. In other words, by offering the bannerettes, they pray to Dowār Devī for the boon that their illnesses may be transferred to some one else or that they may be relieved of their troubles and difficulties. Or, by making the same presentation

¹ *de my Supplementary Remarks on Mr. Chittaranjan Raya's paper "On the Tree-Cults in the District of Midnapur in South-Western Bengal" in Man in India (Ranchi) for December 1922, pages 251—260.*

they evince their gratitude to this goddessling, who dwells in the sacred pipul tree, for having fulfilled their hearts' desires.

There now remains only one more point connected with the Cult of Dowār Devī to be investigated, namely, the question whether or not there exists in any other part of India a cult or worship similar to that of the "Goddessling of the Doorway" in Motihāri.

With reference to this question, I must state here that I have not been able to find out any exact parallel to this cult. But there is a cult prevalent in Upper India which is analogous to it; and that is the worship of the door-post which is current in Oudh. It is stated that, at Amosī in the district of Lucknow in Oudh, *the people worship, on the occasions of marriages and the birth of boys, the door-post of the house of an old Rājput leader named Bināik who is honoured with the title of "Bābū" or "Father".*¹

No. III.—The Cult of the Goddessling Sapahī Devī.

The third of the village-deities, which is very much revered, adored and prayed to by the people of Motihari—the headquarters of the district of Champaran—and its neighbourhood is the goddessling Sapahī Devī (सपही देवी). From a personal inspection which I made on Tuesday the 5th June 1923, I find that her shrine, which is a *bael*-tree (*Egle marmelos*) growing out of the middle of a small, almost square, brick built floor which is sunk a little below the level of the surrounding ground, stands on the north margin of the Club Road and almost near the south-east corner of the compound of the Anglican Church at Motihāri. On the brick-built floor at the foot of this *bael*-tree, there is neither any mound nor knob of clay to represent or symbolize this goddessling.

I was told by my informant that the people of this neighbourhood wanted to erect a brick-built shrine for Sapahī Devī's local habitation. But her goddesslingship appeared in a dream before one of these people and forbade all of them to erect the *pucca*

¹ *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India.* By W. Crooke (Allahabad Edition of 1894.) Page 302.

shrine or *āsthān* for her. In obedience to her wishes, they gave up the idea.

This goddessling is now worshipped at the foot of this *bael*-tree, as she has the reputation of being a very powerful (जागता) deity.

She was formerly worshipped at the foot of a large *pākur* tree (*Ficus infectoria*) which grows on the northern margin of the Club Road and a little to the west of her present tree-shrine. It is said that, one night, she appeared in a dream before the *chaukidār* or watchman of the Anglican Church (at Motihāri) and told him: "Take me to the foot of the *bael*-tree." Accordingly he removed her, installed her at the foot of the *bael*-tree, and made the small and almost square brick-flooring out of which this tree is now growing.

On her installation at the foot of this *bael*-tree, many sick people began to take vows to worship her goddesslingship in the event of their recovery from their illnesses. As a matter of fact they offer *pūjā* to her when they get cured of their respective maladies. In this way the reputation of this village deity has gone on increasing like a snow-ball.

She is worshipped every day. Offerings are made to her of sweetstuffs (पाकोवान्), thickened milk (क्षीर भोजन), betel-leaves and flowers.

Goats and pigeons (परेवा) are sacrificed to her on the occasion of worshipping her. The latter are sacrificed either by cutting their throats or by plucking off a few of their feathers and, then, letting them fly away.

On the *Dasahārā* or the *Bijayā Dasamī* Day [that is to say, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the Hindi month of *Kuār* (September-October)] in which the *Durgā pūjā* Festival is celebrated, the worship of this goddessling is performed with *clut* and with the offering of the sacrifice of goats. On this special occasion, people come even from Tirhut and worship her. It is also on the *Dasahārā* day that the female votaries of her goddesslingship sing songs in her honour. [But I regret

to say that I have not yet been able to secure the texts of these folk-songs.]

There is no Brāhmaṇa-priest to carry on the worship of this goddessling. It is stated that men of every caste can officiate as her priest.

This goddessling is worshipped for the purpose of obtaining from her the undermentioned boons :—

- (1) Success in law-cases and suits.
- (2) Recovery from illness.
- (3) Attainment of the heart's desires.

It is further stated that, during the night, the goddessling Sapahī Devī, taking in her hands *āhut* (आहुत), that is to say, camphor, incense, *guggul*, *tīl* or sesame, *jao* or barley in an earthen platter, wanders about everywhere and goes far and near with the speed of lightning. She is also credited with the power of transforming herself into male and female human beings, as also into snakes. It is further reported that, at one and the same time, she is seen at one place, and, simultaneously therewith, at some other locality.

I shall now describe the performance of the worship of this goddessling, which I recently saw.

In the morning of Thursday the 7th June 1923, when I was returning from my morning walk along the Club Road, I found some Bihāri women and one or two Bihāri males seated at the foot of the tree-shrine of the goddessling Sapahī Devī; I also saw that a drummer was playing upon a flat kettledrum on the margin of the road near this *bael*-tree.

My curiosity having been roused by these sights, I went near the tree-shrine and found that the womenfolk were worshipping at the foot of that *bael*-tree but within the ambits of the small brick-built floor which, as I have already stated above, is a little bit sunk below the level of the surrounding ground. I also saw that the celebrants of the worship were presenting to her goddesslingship offerings of (1) flowers, (2) betel-leaves, (3) areca-nuts, (4) cloves, (5) cardamoms, (6) *purīs* (पूरी) or

wheaten pancakes fried in *ghee* and (7) *ankurī* (अंकुरी) or gram, *kerāo*, *maṭar*, etc., soaked in water.

On enquiring from a Bihārī youth, who formed a member of this party, as to the reason why these women were worshipping Saphā Devī, he gave me to understand, by means of gesture-language, that is to say, by holding the downward-turned palm of his right hand about a cubit high above the upward-turned palm of his left hand, that they were worshipping her goddesslingship by way of thanks-offering, because a child had been born to one of them. He further stated that these women were *bhākkhal* (or *bhukhal*) [भाखल or भुखल], that is to say, they were fasting for the purpose of offering this *pūjā*.

From the foregoing information, I inferred that, most likely, the mother of the new-born child had prayed to the goddessling Saphā Devī for granting her the boon of a child and that that boon having been granted to her, she and her co-worshippers were offering *pūjā* to her goddesslingship by way of thanks-offering.

The most noteworthy features of the cult of the goddessling Saphā Devī are the following :—

- (1) The fact of her goddesslingship's not being represented by an anthropomorphic image and of her not being symbolized even by such a rude symbol or fetish as a mound or knob of clay.
- (2) The fact of her being worshipped at the foot of the *bael*-tree, the tree itself being looked upon as her symbol or representative.
- (3) The fact that there is no Brāhmaṇa-priest to carry on her worship and that men of any and every caste can act as her priest.
- (4) The fact that pigeons (परिवा) are offered by way of sacrifice to her goddesslingship.
- (5) The fact that the same boons are granted by the goddessling Saphā Devī as those vouchsafed by the godling Birchhe Deo and by Dowār Devī "the Goddessling of the Doorway."

I shall now take up for consideration and discussion the two points (1) and (2) together.

I have already shown, in my dissertation on the cult of the goddessling Dowār Devī, that the district of Champāran, as is indicated by its name, which signifies "the forest of *Champā* or *Champaka* trees", was, in very ancient times, a vast forest-clad region which was inhabited by a large population of non-Aryan aboriginal tribes intermingled with a sprinkling of Aryan Hindus. I am inclined to think that the goddessling Sapahī Devī was, most likely, one of the shadowy and invisible "Forces or Powers of Nature" which were dreaded and, therefore, revered and prayed to by the aforementioned aboriginal people, and were believed by them to have their local habitation in the trees of this great forest-clad region. It is very probable that these non-Aryan aborigines dubbed this dreaded, yet adored "Force or Power of Nature" with the name of "Sapahī Devī"—a title which indicates that she was looked upon as an impersonal and unseen being possessed of supernatural attributes.

It seems to me that the Aryan Hindus, who lived amongst the aforementioned non-Aryan aborigines, gradually adopted the worship of Sapahī Devī from the latter, and began to pay their devours to her goddesslingship.

When the primeval forest covering what is now the present site of the town of Motihāri was cleared off and the foundations of this town were laid, the goddessling Sapahī Devī's Hindu votaries appear, to my mind, to have assigned to her a local habitation in the *pakri*-tree (*Ficus infectoria*) which is, even now growing on the northern margin of the Club Road and close to the south-eastern corner of the compound of the Anglican Church of this town (Motihāri).

Then again, the fact that the name Sapahī Devī of this goddessling is not to be found in the *Vedas* and in the *Purānas* or, for the matter of that, in any one of the standard Shāstric works dealing with Hindu mythology, shows her non-Aryan and aboriginal origin. This is also confirmed by the evidence that her goddesslingship has not, even up till now,

been represented by an anthropomorphic image or even by a knob or mound of clay, as also by the fact that her only visible symbol is believed to be her arboreal habitation—the *bael*-tree (*Ægle marmelos*)—at the foot of which she is worshipped by her votaries even up to the present day.

That the foregoing process by which the goddessling Sapahī Devī has been borrowed by the Hindus from their non-Aryan aboriginal neighbours was also in operation in some parts of Eastern Bengal, is also demonstrated by the way in which the Hindu village-goddess Bana-Durgā (बन-दुर्गा)—“the Goddess Durgā of the Forest”—came to be assimilated into orthodox Hinduism from some one or other of the non-Aryan aboriginal denizens of Eastern Bengal.

I have already shown elsewhere¹ that, in most ancient times, the whole of Eastern Bengal was covered with primeval forests. The non-Aryan aborigines, who dwelt in these forests, believed them, or rather the trees contained in them, to be inhabited by an invisible and shadowy spirit or goddess whom they adored and prayed to. When this cult was absorbed into orthodox Hinduism, the exponents of the orthodox faith dubbed the tree-spirit or tree-goddess with the names of *Bana Durgā*, *Bana Devī* or *Budhā Thākurañī*. On the occasions of worshipping her, the latter make no anthropomorphic image of her, but simply take her tree-shrine or tree-abode as her symbol and worship her at the foot thereof. Or, sometimes, they represent her by making simple symbols in the shape of bracelets of rice-flour paste. It is for this reason that the aforementioned goddess Bana Durgā is worshipped at the foot of the *Sheorā* tree (*Strobilus asper*) wherein she is believed to dwell, in the eastern parts of the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal, and, at some other places, at the foot of the *Uduma* tree (most likely *Ficus glomerata*) and other kinds of trees; while at Comilla in the district of Tippera in Eastern Bengal

¹ Vide my article *On the Cult of the Tree-Goddess in Eastern Bengal* in *Man in India* (Ranchi) for December 1922, pages 228–241.

this goddess is worshipped at the foot of the *Kamini*-tree (*Murraya exotica*).

Then, I pass on to the consideration of the point (3) mentioned *supra*, namely, the facts that there is no Brāhmaṇa-priest to carry on the worship of the goddessling Sapahī Devī and that men of any and every caste can act as her priest. These facts are additional bits of evidence which conclusively prove that the cult of this goddessling is of non-Aryan and aboriginal origin, and that it has not yet been completely assimilated into orthodox Hinduism. For an exactly similar instance, we may refer to the tree-cult of Makdum Pir, which is prevalent in the village of Bālyagobindpur in the Contai Subdivision of the district of Midnapur in South-Western Bengal. In this case also, the employment of a non-Brāhmaṇa to officiate at the worship of the tree-spirit resident in the Makdum Tree proves, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Musalmāni cult of Makdum Pir, though it has been adopted by the Hindus of that locality from their Muhammadan neighbours, has not yet been completely assimilated into orthodox Brahmanism.¹

With reference to the point (4) mentioned *supra*, namely, the sacrifice of pigeons (परिवा) to the goddessling Sapahī Devī, I may state that this is another piece of evidence which goes to prove that her cult is of non-Aryan and aboriginal origin. For the sacrifice of pigeons, cocks and ducks is strictly forbidden to the deities of the orthodox Hindu pantheon.

I have already shown elsewhere that the most curious feature of the cult of the tree-goddess Bana Durgā, which is prevalent in Eastern Bengal, is the fact that beasts and birds, the eating of whose flesh is strictly forbidden to orthodox Hindus, are sacrificed to her. For instance, pigs are sacrificed to her. Barbers cut the throats of these beasts by means of a razor. Then again, twenty-one cocks are offered up on the occasion of the *pūjā* of this goddess. These fowls are not actually sacrificed,

¹ Vide my *Supplementary Remarks* on Chittaranjan Ray's paper. *On the Tree-cult in the District of Midnapur in South-Western Bengal in Man in India* (Ranchi) for December 1922, page 264.

but are cooped up in a cage and placed at a distance from the place of worship. The officiating priest, from a distance, sprinkles holy water on these fowls and, thereby consecrates them as offering to her deityship.¹

Similarly, ducks are sacrificed to the non-Aryan tiger-deity Dakshina Rāya in Southern Bengal (vide *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI. (N.S.), for 1915, page 175).

Then, I shall take up for consideration and discussion the last point (5) which has been mentioned above, namely, the fact that the goddessling Sapahī Devī is adored and prayed to for granting her votaries the same three boons as those that are vouchsafed by the godling Birchhe Deo and the goddessling Dowār Devī. This leads me to infer that the granting of these boons would appear to be a characteristic attribute of the deities who have been evolved either from the apotheosis of holy, good and pious men, or who have been adopted from non-Aryan and aboriginal tribes and who are not yet represented by anthropomorphic images.

IV.—The Cult of the Godling Ajgaibī Nātha.

The fourth of the *genius loci*, or local deities, which is much venerated and prayed to by the Bihāri natives of Motihāri is the godling Ajgaibī Nātha (अजगै बी नाथ) or Nātha Babā (नाथ बाबा). I visited his shrine in the morning of Tuesday the 5th June 1923.

Passing eastwards along the Club Road (of Motihari) for a short distance, I arrived at its junction with the Piprā-Muzaffarpur Road and passed on into the latter which leads southwards. Proceeding southwards along the Piprā-Muzaffarpur Road for some distance and past the premises of the Motihāri Indigo Factory, I arrived near a *jhil* or a small sheet of water which lies near the western margin of this road.

Passing westwards along the north bank of the *jhil*, I arrived at the shrine of the godling Ajgaibī Nātha.

¹ Vide my article *On the Cult of the Tree-Goddess in Eastern Bengal* in *Man in India* (Ranchi) for December 1922, pages 235-236.

The shrine consists of a rectangular platform which appears to be made of bricks and is besmeared with clay, and which measures two cubits and eight fingers in height. Running along the edges of this platform is a low clay ridge all round it. This platform is ascended by a stairway consisting of an inclined plane.

Near the eastern margin of the platform is a raised circular mound (apparently made of bricks and besmeared with clay) which measures one cubit and four fingers in height. On the top of this mound is another smaller raised circular mound (apparently made of bricks and besmeared with clay) which measures eight fingers in height. On the top of the mound are two small knobs of clay. The knobs represent the godling Ajgaibī Nātha and his wife.

Near the south-west corner of the aforementioned rectangular platform is another smaller and raised circular mound. This mound also appears to be made of bricks and is besmeared with clay and measures one cubit in height. On the top of this mound is another knob of clay which represents the sister of the godling Ajgaibī Nātha. But her name was not known to my informants.

This godling is propitiated by the offerings of thickened milk (चौर भोजन) and pancakes (रोट) made of wheaten flour and fried in clarified butter. Flowers and money are also offered to his godlingship. Sometimes, bannerettes tied to the tops of bamboo-poles are also presented to this village-deity.

It has also been stated to me that, on the *Pūrṇamāsī* or the full-moon day in the Hindi month of Kārtik (October—November), a fair is held in honour of the godling Ajgaibī Nātha near his *āsthān* or shrine. At the time when this fair is held, lighted lamps are placed, at night, on the *thān* or the shrine of this village deity. On the occasion of this fair, not only do the worshippers propitiate Ajgaibī Nātha or Nātha Bābā by presenting to him the aforementioned offerings, but the womenfolk, who come to do *pūjā* to his godlingship, also sing, in his honour, songs called the *sanjhāparāṭī* (संज्ञा पराती) or "*the morning and evening hymns.*"

There is no Brāhmaṇa priest to carry on the *pūjā* of this godling. But my informants—the residents of the neighbouring village—told me that an Atith named Bishun Gir was, at the time of my visit to the shrine on the 5th June 1923, the priest of Ajgaibi Nātha and the custodian of his *thān* or platform-shrine.

This godling is prayed to by the worshippers for obtaining the undermentioned boons :—

- (1) The attainment of one's heart's desires.
- (2) Success in litigation.
- (3) Recovery from illness.

My informants further stated to me that, in former times, persons who intended to go on journeys to other and far-off places and who were too poor to afford the expense of buying a bell-metal platter (यात्री) for eating off from and a pot of the same metal (लोटा) for drinking out from, used to pray to this godling Ajgaibi Nātha supplicating that his godlingship would take pity on their poverty and give them the required utensils. I was further informed by my informants that his godlingship used to give a favourable ear to the would-be travellers, and, by a miracle, used to cause the aforementioned utensils to float upon the surface of the water of the neighbouring *jhil* (or sheet of water) wherefrom these were picked up by the needy supplicants. But I could not ascertain from my informants whether or not his godlingship miraculously made presents of these utensils to needy travellers even at the present day.

It was further stated to me that, in former times, people sometimes used to pick up from the aforementioned *jhil* one or two *gāgrās* (or jarfuls) of *āshrafis* or gold coins. [When my informants were communicating to me information about the aforementioned marvels wrought by the godling Ajgaibi Nātha, I did not express the least feeling of incredulity or amusement at the absurdity of their superstitious beliefs. This passive and receptive frame of mind, which was maintained by me with the greatest difficulty, enabled me to gather the foregoing information easily, and, at the same

time, confirmed, in a striking manner, the wisdom of Miss C. S. Burne's advice to collectors of folk-lore :—

"Incredulity and amusement must be concealed at all costs."

Again : "Sympathy, a true 'feeling with', and not merely 'for', the people is the main secret of success. *The greatest possible respect should be shown to all their beliefs and opinions, even the most trivial ; and the visitor should endeavour to attain to a certain passive and receptive frame of mind which will enable him to accept whatever marvels may be told him as if they were true.*"¹

It has been further communicated to me that there are seven wells a little off to the south of this godling's *thān* or platform-shrine. If I am right in my conjecture, I think that they meant to say that these seven wells were the habitat of this *grāmaderata* Ajgaibi Nātha or Nātha Babā. But they did not say this to me in so many explicit terms.

The most interesting features of the cult of this godling Ajgaibi Nātha or Nātha Babā are :—

- (1) That the name of this village-deity is not to be found either in the Vedas, the Purāṇas, or in any other standard work on Hindu mythology.
- (2) That this godling is not represented by any anthropomorphic image, but is, along with his wife and his sister, symbolized by three knobs of clay placed on the top of two circular brick-built and clay-besmeared mounds.
- (3) That these clay-symbols of this godling, his wife and his sister are not installed within any regularly-constructed, walled and roofed temple, but are simply placed upon a raised platform in the midst of an open field and close to the north-western bank of a *jhil* or sheet of water.
- (4) That there is no Brāhmaṇa (priest) to carry on the worship of this village-deity ; but that, on the

¹ *The Handbook of Folklore.* By Miss C. S. K. Burne. New Edition, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, Pages 6-7.

contrary, his godlingship is served and ministered to by a hedge-priest, namely, an Atitb.

- (5) That this godling is supposed to haunt seven wells which are situated a little way off to the south of his platform-shrine and, most likely, the *jhil* or sheet of water which lies to south-east thereof.
- (6) That this *grāmadevata* miraculously grants to would-be travellers bell-metal platters and water-pots, and, sometimes, grants jarfuls of gold coins to other persons, by causing his gifts to float on the surface of the water of the aforementioned *jhil*.
- (7) That this godling is, most likely, a deified water-spirit which guards treasure hidden beneath the water of a *jhil* or well. [Compare with the water-spirit named Yakh of Bengal].
- (8) That this godling is further propitiated and honoured by the performance of the following rites and ceremonies, namely, (i) by the holding of a fair; (ii) by the placing of lighted lamps on his platform-shrine; and (iii) by the female worshippers' singing of the *sanjhāparātī* songs at the time of the fair.

On a consideration of the aforementioned features or characteristics (1), (2), (3) and (4) of this cult, I am of opinion that the godling Ajgaibī Nātha or Nātha Bābā is the personification or rather the deification of some shadowy being or power or rather a spirit, which appears, in ancient times, to have been revered and prayed to by the aborigines or the non-Aryan peoples who inhabited the primeval forest that formerly covered the tract of country whereon the town of Motihari now stands.

Then again, on a consideration of the aforementioned characteristics (5), (6) and (7) of this cult, I am inclined to think that the aforescribed spirit, which received the devoirs of the aboriginal or non-Aryan denizens of that part of the forest-clad country side of Champaran which has now been cleared off and built upon as the town of Motihari, appears to have been believed by them to haunt the *jhils* or other similar

reservoirs of water, and to have had under his custody treasure and other valuables which are supposed to lie hidden under the depths of his watery domain. It appears to have been further believed by them that this spirit of the waters would make a gift of parts of the aforementioned treasure or valuables to such of his votaries as would succeed in propitiating him.

I am further of opinion that the Hindus of that part of the Champaran countryside, which is now occupied by the town of Motihari and its adjoining localities, must have borrowed from their aboriginal or non-Aryan neighbours the worship of the aforescribed water-spirit, and must have thereafter personified him and dubbed him with the title of Ajgaibī Nātha or Nātha Bābā in order to invest his godlingship with the semblance of having had a Paurānik origin.

But it would appear that this personified—or rather deified—water-spirit has not yet been completely absorbed into orthodox Brāhmanism, as will be evident from the facts that (i) he has not got a regularly-constructed temple for his local habitation, (ii) that he has not yet been represented by an image in the form of a human being, and (iii) that his *pūjā* is not carried on by a member of the sacerdotal or the Brāhmaṇa caste. It is only an inferior religious mendicant belonging to the class of Alīths, who are stated by Sir Athelstane Baines to be identical with the Gosāvīs or the Sannyāsis,¹ who conducts the worship of this deified water-spirit or godling and has, under his custody, his godlingship's platform-shrine.

The only special honours which are paid to his deityship by his votaries are those which are set forth in point 8 mentioned *supra*.

Furthermore, this godling is believed to possess the power of granting to his worshippers the same three boons as are vouchsafed by the other three village-deities of Motihari, namely, the godling Birchhe Deo and the goddesslingships Dowār Devī and Sapahī Devī.

¹ *Ethnography*. By Sir Athelstane Baines. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner. 1912. Page 41.

For the foregoing reasons, I have arrived at the conclusion that the godling Ajgaibī Nātha or Nātha Bābā appears to be a deity of the second class and has not yet attained to the brevet-rank of a *deva* or a god of the first class of the orthodox Hindu pantheon and that his further promotion upwards appears to have been arrested for reasons which I am unable to make out.

The belief that the godling Ajgaibi Nātha had, under his custody, treasure and other valuables which were supposed to lie hidden under the depths of his watery domain, naturally leads me to say a few words about the similar beliefs which were or are still current among several races of the Asiatic peoples.

Among the last mentioned races of people there still lingers the belief that treasure, either kept concealed by men or lying emboweled in the recesses of mines underneath the earth, are guarded by some mythical beings or animals. This belief seems to have been prevalent among the ancient Persians, for allusions to it are to be found in some of the classical works of their literature. Sometimes, artificial means were resorted to by other races of people, as for instance, the Bengalis, of killing a male child and appointing his manes to be the guardian of the treasure that was made over to his charge and was hidden under the earth.

In the olden times in Bengal,

“ When the good old rule, the simple plan

That he should take who has the power

And he should keep who can ”

was the order of the day, the people of Bengal resorted to the expedient of concealing their surplus treasures underneath the ground, and appointing a Yakh to keep watch and ward over it. ¹

The fact that the godling Ajgaibī Nātha, as also the village deities named Birchhe Deo and Dowār Devi of Metihari

¹ For a description of the ceremony of appointing a Yakh, see my paper *On Some Beliefs in a Being or Animal which is Supposed to Guard Hidden Treasure in The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, Part III, No. 3 (for 1893).

whose cults I have already described and discussed in the first and second numbers of this series of studies, and the disease-godling named Goreyā Bābā of village Sunderpur Babhnaulā, pargana Semraon in the district of Champaran, whose cult I shall deal with in the next paper of this series, is represented by knobs of clay, reminds me of the curious fact that, in Bengal also, the *grāmadevatās* or village godlings, which are apparently of aboriginal or non-Aryan origin, are similarly symbolized by pyramids or conically-shaped pieces of clay. Take for instance the village deities rejoicing in the curious name of *Thnā*. These are five in number and are represented by strangely-shaped figurines of clay which resemble diminutive-looking pyramids or cones than anything else. Then again, the Bengali woman's godling named Laul is, in a strikingly similar manner, symbolized by a conically-shaped piece of clay. Their non-Aryan origin is best evidenced by (1) their uncouth and non-sanskritic names which are not to be found either in the *Vedas* or the *Purānas* or any other standard work on Hindu mythology, (2) by the strange and outlandish methods of worshipping them, and (3) by the fact that the hymns, which are recited in their honour, are composed in the oldest form of the Bengali dialect which is closely related to the Prākritis.¹

No. V.—The Cult of the Disease Godling Goreyā Bābā.

Another famous village-deity of the district of Champaran in North Bihar is the godling Goreyā Bābā (गोरेया बाबा) who is much venerated and prayed to by the people thereof. His temple is situated in village Sundarpur Babhnauli, parganā Semraon, which belongs by proprietary right to the Bettiah Rāj, and is situated at a distance of six miles to the north of Motihari. I visited this temple on Sunday, the 10th June 1923.

The brother of the *patwāri* or village accountant of Mauzā Sundarpur Babhnauli communicated to me the following

¹ *The Folk-Literature of Bengal.* By Rai Sahab Dinesha Chandra Sen, B.A.
Published by the University of Calcutta, 1920. pages 244-267.

information regarding the origin of the cult of Goreyā Bābā and the mode of worshipping his godlingship :—

The godling Goreyā Bābā manifested himself to the world twelve years ago, and the brick-built temple wherein the three platform-shrines and the three clay-knob images of his deityship and of his two *sewaks* are installed was erected eight years ago.

There is a person named Deodhārī Āhir who belongs to the Āhir or milkman caste. The godling Goreyā Bābā first manifested himself to Deodhārī Āhir in a dream and, addressing the latter, said: "I am Goreyā Bābā. Be my Bhāgtā (भाग्ता) or devotee. Do my work."

From that day Deodhārī Āhir began to serve this godling and to act as his oracle and devotee.

There is also a Brāhmaṇa priest named Rāmjiwan Paṇḍe who carries on the worship of this godling.

This godling is worshipped on Tuesdays in the light fortnight of the Hindi month of Baisākha (April-May), on the Dasabārā Day in the Hindi month of Kuār (September-October), that is to say, on the tenth day in the light fortnight of the Hindi month Kuār, on which day the goddess Durgā is worshipped finally, on Tuesdays in the light fortnight of the Hindi month of Aghan (November-December), and also on the Śri-panchamī day in the Hindi month of Māgh (January-February), that is to say, on the fifth day in the light fortnight of the Hindi month of Māgha, on which day Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, is worshipped.

On the occasion of the worship of the godling Goreyā Bābā, the Homa (होम) sacrifice is performed with the presentation of the offerings of incense (घूप), gingelly-seeds (तिन्नि) and clarified butter (घि). Offerings of flowers, *achchhat* (अच्छत्) or sun-dried rice steeped in water and sweetmeats are also presented to his godlingship at the time of his *pūjā*. No songs are sung in honour of this godling.

This godling is adored and prayed to, that is to say, is worshipped for the obtaining of the undermentioned boons :—

- (i) By persons obsessed by ghosts and spooks, for the exorcism of those malignant spirits.

(ii) By lepers for recovery from their leprosy.

Lepers come from far and near to this godling's shrine and stay there for a length of time. The only rites that these afflicted persons have to perform every day are to bathe and to do obeisance to this godling. It is said that by staying in this godling's shrine and by performing the aforesaid simple rites, these lepers get cured of their dreadful malady. At the time of my visit to this shrine on the 10th June 1923 I saw three of these lepers who had come thither to worship the godling Goreyā Bābā with the object of obtaining the boon of recovery from their loathsome disease.

(iii) By persons who labour under the hallucination that spells or enchantments have been cast on them by witches and sorcerers, for the purpose of exorcising or nullifying the malignant influence or effects of those spells or enchantments.

On the aforementioned days in the Hindi months of Baisākha, Kuār, Aghān and Māgha which are prescribed for celebrating the pūjā of this godling in, a small fair is held within the precincts of his temple.

The daily duties of the Brāhmana-priest Rāmjiwan Pānde are (a) to worship the godling Goreyā Bābā by waving lighted lamps before his godlingship and by the offering to him of flowers, Ganges water and incense and (b) to besmear with yellow ochreous earth the clay knob-images of Goreyā Bābā and his two *sewakas* or servitors, which are placed on the summits of their respective platform-shrines within the temple.

My aforementioned informant communicated to me the following account of the circumstances under which the brick-built temple, within which the three clay knob-images of Goreyā Bābā and his two *sewakas*, or servitors, are installed, came to be erected eight years ago :—

A person named Tawaqqal Sah, who belongs to the Kālwar or wine-seller caste and who resides in village Sirsā which is situated two miles to the east of Motihari, had formerly no

children. He, therefore, took a vow to the effect that, if the godling Goreyā Bābā would take pity on his childless condition and confer on him the boon of a child, he would, by way of thanksgiving, erect a *pucca* or brick-built temple for his godlingship's local habitation.

It is said that, after the making of this vow, a daughter was born to Tawaqqal Sāh. Therefore, in fulfilment of his vow, he commenced the building of the present *pucca* temple wherein the symbolic images of Goreyā Bābā and his two servitors are installed. It has been further stated to me that, after the work of building had been commenced, a son was born to him.

A little way off to the north-west of Goreyā Bābā's temple are the platform-shrines of the undermentioned godlings, all of whom are stated to be the orderlies of Goreyā Bābā.

At the foot of the two *pipal*-trees (*Ficus religiosa*) which are growing in the north-western corner of the compound of Goreyā Bābā's temple are the platform-shrine and the clay knob-image of a godling named Bhaironji (भैरोंजी). It has been stated to me by my informant that Bhaironji acts as Goreyā Bābā's orderly, and, is for this reason, worshipped by the latter's priest on the same days as those on which Goreyā Bābā's *pūjā* takes place, and by the presentation to him of the same kinds of offerings as are given to the latter.

I am inclined to think that Bhaironji is the *Kotwal* or police-officer of the super-godling Goreyā Bābā, as will appear from the fact that similar duties are performed by Bhaironāth with respect to all the Saiva shrines in the city of Benares, and by the under-godling Bhairava at Kedārnāth, as also by Kāl Bhairava at Tunganāth.¹

A little way off to the south of Bhaironji's platform-shrine is that of the godling Brahmachārijī (ब्रह्मचारीजी).

It has been reported to me by my informant that the godling Brahmachārijī acts as Goreyā Bābā's orderly and is,

¹Burne's *The Handbook of Folklore* (Edion of 1914) p. 122.

therefore, propitiated by the performance in his honour of the same kind of *pūjā* as is done to the latter godling.

I am, however, inclined to think that the under-godling Brahmachārījī acts as a guardian of the shrine of the super-godling Goreyā Bābā pretty much in the same way as the inferior godling Kshettrapālā discharges the duty of a warden of the temple of some great god at Jagesvara and the under-deity Ghaṇṭākaran does at Badrināth.¹

A little way off to the north-east of Bhaironjī's platform-shrine there is situated the platform shrine of the godling Mahābirjī (महावीरजी) who is also stated to act as the orderly of the super-godling Goreyā Bābā. The name Mahābirjī (or *the great hero-lord*) would appear to be a synonym of the monkey-god Hanumāna or Hanumanta [or "*He who possesses (prominent) cheeks.*"]

I am, however, of opinion that the under-godling Mahābirjī discharges the duty of a warden (or *dvārāpālā*) of the super-godling Goreyā Bābā pretty much in the same way as the monkey-godling Hanumāna does at the temple of the goddess Ashtabhuajā Devī (or "*the eight-armed goddess*") on the Ashtabhuajā Hill at Mirzāpur in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.¹ Like Goreyā Bābā, Mahābirjī also exercises powerful influence in the matter of scaring away malignant ghosts and spirits from his votaries.² [Also note that, in village Sundarpur Bahnauli in the district of Champaran in North Bihar, the under-godling Mahābirjī is symbolized by two clay-knobs while at other places in Northern India he is represented by a "rude image (it is not stated whether anthropomorphic or otherwise) smeared with oil and red ochre."³]

The outstanding features of the cult of the godling Goreyā Bābā are :—

(1) That, though this godling is not represented by an

¹ *Op. cit.*, page 122.

² Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894) page 52.

³ *Op. cit.*, page 52.

anthropomorphic image, he is still served and ministered to by a Brāhmaṇa-priest.

(2) That this godling is daily worshipped by the Brāhmaṇa-priest with the offerings of flowers incense and Ganges water and also by the waving of lighted lamps before his godlingship.

(3) That this godling has got for his local habitation a *pucc*, or brick-built temple wherein the three platform-shrines and the three clay knob-images of his godlingship and of his two *sewaks* or servitors are installed.

(4) That this godling has got two *sewaks* or servitors, the clay knob-image of each of whom is installed on each side of his own image.

(5) That there are three subordinate godlings respectively named Bhaironji, Brahmachārījī and Mahābīrjī, all of whom act as the super-god Goreyā Babā's orderly-officers.

(6) That a small fair is held in honour of this godling on the days prescribed for his worship.

(7) That this godling possesses the power of curing leprosy and of exorcising ghosts and spooks as also the malignant influence of the spells and enchantments cast by witches and sorcerers.

That the godling has also the power of granting children to childless parents.

Now the foregoing characteristics of Goreyā Babā are always found associated with the deities of the first class, that is, with those divinities who have been definitely promoted into the respectable divine cabinet of the Hindu Pantheon, as will appear from the following remarks of Miss C. S. Burne on this point :—

“ The deities of the heroic class are as a rule benignant, and are generally worshipped by most Hindus. Those that have been definitely promoted into the respectable divine cabinet, like Hanumān, have Brāhmans or members of the ascetic orders as their priests, and their images, if not exactly admitted into the holy of holies of the greater shrines, are still allotted a

respectable position in the neighbourhood, and receive a share in the offerings of the faithful.”¹

For the foregoing reasons, I am definitely of opinion that Goreyā Bābā is a deity of the first class. I am further inclined to think that his deityship will, in course of time, come to be looked upon as an incarnation of Śiva or Mahesvara, and to be dubbed with some such name as Goresvara. It will not be out of place to mention here that “the familiar Gor Bābā, a deified ghost of the aboriginal races, has, in many places, become a new² manifestation of Śiva as Goresvara.”²

[In this connection it will not be out of place to compare the godling Goreyā Bābā of Champaran with the godling Gauraiyā or Goraiyā who appears to be the deification of a Dusādh chieftain of robbers and whose shrine is situated at Sherpur near Patnā in South Bihār. It has not been stated what special benevolent attributes this Dusādh bandit-chief possessed during his lifetime which led to his apotheosis after his death. Most likely, like Robin Hood of old England, he used to rob the rich in order to give away to the poor—which magnanimous conduct led to his canonization after his death. At least, this much is stated that this deified bandit-chieftain is much venerated and prayed to by the members of all the castes. The members of the clean castes present to his godlingship offerings of meal; while the members of the unclean castes offer to this godling Goraiyā the sacrifice of a hog or of several young pigs, and pour out libations of spirituous liquor upon the ground by way of additional offering. This sacrifice of pigs and the presentation of the offering of spirituous liquor are two bits of evidence which show, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that this cult of the godling Gauraiyā or Goraiyā is some non-Aryan worship which has been assimilated into orthodox Hinduism but has not yet been raised to the status of a first-grade cult of the Hindu Pantheon.]³

¹ *The Handbook of Folklore*. By C. S. Burne. New Edition. London : Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1914. Page 122.

² *Op. Cit.*, page 122.

³ Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894) page 125.

I shall now make a few remarks about the evolution of the disease-godling Goreyā Babā of Champaran. He appears to be an instance of '*the Srinted dead*' or of the deification of the ghost or spirit of a person who, during his lifetime, was reputed for his sanctity and piety, or for his benevolent disposition. This origin is evidenced by the fact that Goreyā Babā is credited with the possession of the same powers of curing leprosy and of exorcising the baleful effects of the spells of witchcraft and enchantment, as are possessed by several other members of '*the sainted dead*' of Northern India, that is, by several other deifications of the ghosts or spirits of persons, both male and female, who were well known for their holy lives and pious dispositions during their earthly careers—which attributes of saintliness and benevolence have resulted in their canonization after their deaths. Take, for instance, the cult of Pir Jahāniyā whose tomb-shrine is situated in the district of Muzaffargarh in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Like Goreyā Babā, this Pir, or saint, is believed to possess the power of curing leprosy.

It is stated that persons who suffer from leprosy and boils, prevail upon the incumbent of Pir Jahāniyā's tomb-shrine to prepare baths of heated sand wherein the afflicted limb or the whole body of the patient is immersed. It is further believed that this treatment for the cure of leprosy and boils owes its success to the thaumaturgic or wonder-working power of Pir Jahāniyā.¹

Then again, like the godling Goreyā Babā of Champaran, the deifications of the ghosts or spirits of several other Pirs or saints of Northern India and of South Bihār are believed to possess the power of casting out evil spirits or malignant ghosts from persons supposed to be possessed by the latter. Take, for example, the cult of the Pir or saint Makhdūm Sāhib whose tomb-shrine is situated in the district of Fyzābād in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and who is believed to possess the power of exorcising malignant ghosts and spooks from persons obsessed by the latter.

¹ *Op. Cit.*, page 139.

Similar powers of casting out malevolent ghosts and spirits from obsessed persons are also ascribed to the Pir or Saint Bairām whose shrine is situated at Bidauli in the Muzaffarnagar district of the United Provinces and also to the female saint Bibi Kamāl whose shrine is located at Kāko, a place standing half-way between Gayā and Patnā in South Bihar. ¹

No. VI.—The Cult of the Pillar Godling Laur Bābā or Bhim Bali Bābā.

There is a village named Lauriyā in pargana Majhowā in the district of Champaran in North Bihar. It is situated at a distance of 19 or 20 miles to the south-west of Motihari and of four miles to the north of Govindganj Police-station on the road from the latter place to the former. It is otherwise known as Lauriyā Ararāj.

In this village stands one of the lofty stone-pillars which were erected by Aśoka, the greatest Buddhist Emperor of India, in 249 B. C. It is a single block of polished sandstone and measures 36½ feet in height from the level of the ground and has a diameter of 41·8 inches at its base while its diameter at the top is 37·6 inches. The villagers call this pillar the "Laur" or "the phallus," from which fact the village has derived its name of Lauriyā. On the shaft of this pillar are engraved, in well-carved characters, six of Aśoka's edicts which are in a good state of preservation.

On Sunday, the 17th June 1923, I, accompanied by Mr. P. K. Mitra, M.Sc., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Motihari, paid a visit to this pillar. This column is worshipped and prayed to by the Hindu villagers on every day and in every month of the year, according to the worshippers' sweet will and pleasure. It is known to the villagers of the locality as Bhim Singh Bābā (भीम सिंह बाबा). But the Brāhmanā priest named Mohipat Tiwārī, who ministers to this pillar-godling, and several inhabitants of the adjoining villages stated to me, that his godlingship's name was Laur Bābā (लौर बाबा) or Bhim

¹ *Op. Cit.*, page 139.

Bali Bābā (भीम बली बाबा). The villagers of mauzā Lauriyā further told me that the offerings given to this godling included sweetstuffs such as *lāḍḍus* (लाड्डु) or sugar-balls and *bātāsūs* (बातासा) or sugar-wafers, as also rice (अन्न) and money. But beasts and birds like goats and pigeons are never offered up by way of sacrifice to this godling. Offerings of vermilion also appear to be presented to his godlingship, for we found that the intervening spaces between the posts of the iron railing which fences off the stone-paved platform whereon the pillar stands were besmeared in several places with daubs of red lead. If there had not been the stringent order of the Magistrate of Champaran, prohibiting persons from going inside the iron railing and on to the platform and forbidding them to touch the shaft of the pillar, the worshippers would surely have daubed the pillar itself with patches of vermilion-paint.

This pillar-godling is adored and prayed to by worshippers in the hope that his deityship would grant their hearts' desires. No songs are sung by the female worshippers on the occasion of worshipping his godlingship.

There is a Brāhmaṇa named Mohipat Tiwārī who resides in Mauzā Rediyā which is situated about one mile to the south of Lauriyā and who told me that he was the priest of this pillar-godling Bhīm Bali Bābā. But the residents of village Lauriyā stated to me that this so-called priest had no regular duties to perform in connection with the worship of his godlingship. They further told me that, whenever any worshipper wished to do *pūjā* to this pillar-godling, the priest Mohipat Tiwārī would come and officiate as the *pūjārī* for that particular occasion only and would offer the offerings (अर्चकृत्) on behalf of the votaries. It was further stated to me that this priest recited no *mantras* or prayer formulæ on the occasion of worshipping Laur Bābā and that no fair was held in honour of this godling.

I went to village Rediyā and sent for Mohipat Tiwārī. He came in response to my request and stated to me that, before him,

his forefathers had been, and that, after their deaths, he had become, the priest or *pūjārī* of the pillar-godling Bhīm Balī Bābā (“the Godling named Bhīm the Strong”) or Laur Bābā (“the Godling of the Phallus”). He further told me that, so long as the late Maharāja of Bettiah lived the latter used to pay his monthly salary for acting as the priest of this godling. But, after the latter’s death, when the Bettiah Raj Estate came under the management of the Court of Wards, the last-mentioned institution stopped the payment of his monthly salary. He further told me that notwithstanding the stoppage of his salary, he still regularly worshipped the pillar-godling in the morning of every Monday and Tuesday and presented to this deity offering of flowers, sandalwood-paste (चन्दन), incense (झूप) and *aruā* (i.e. un-boiled and sun-dried) rice soaked in water (अच्छत्). Then again he stated to me that he performed the *pūjā* of this godling to the accompaniment of the recital of the prescribed *mantras* or prayer-formulæ (in Sanskrit) which he recited before me.

Several residents of other villages, who were present at this time, told me that the worshippers also offered to this godling sweetstuffs (मिठाई) and *lādūs* or sugar-balls.

[I am inclined to think that the statement made to me by Mohipat Tiwārī to the effect that he regularly performed the *pūjā* of this pillar-godling was wide of the truth and that what the villagers of mauzā Lauriyā had stated to me about him appeared to be correct.]

Although the Aśoka pillar standing in the village of Lauriyā Ararāj is called Bhīm Balī Bābā or “the Godling named Bhīm the Strong”, there are two other pillars (erected by the same Buddhist Emperor) in the district of Champaran, which are called Bhim Singh’s staff or *lāṭhī*.

Of these two pillars one stands in the village of Lauriyā Nandangarh which is situated in the Bettiah subdivision of the district of Champaran and lies at a distance of 14 miles to the north-west of the town of Bettiah. This pillar is also worshipped and prayed to by the Hindu villagers of the locality under the belief that it is a phallus or *lingam*. They call it Bhim Singh’s

staff (or *lathi*) and present to it offerings of sweetmeats and fruits.¹

The other Aśokā pillar stands in Mauzā Rāmpurna, a village situated close to that named Pipariyā which lies at a distance of 32 miles to the north of Bettiah. The Tharus of the locality call this Aśokā pillar by the name of Bhīm's *lathi* (or staff). It has got broken into two pieces, of which the one forming the base of the pillar is now standing in the ground between two mounds of earth. They narrate the following curious story to explain how the column came to be broken into two pieces :—

Once upon a time, Bhīm was carrying two loads of earth in two baskets which were suspended from a pole placed across his shoulder and when he arrived at his destination the pole got broken in twain. As the result of this breakage, the two baskets of earth fell upon the ground on each side of him and formed the two mounds which are now to be seen. While the broken pole got stuck into the ground between the two mounds, was transformed into stone in the course of ages, and, in this way, formed the broken pillar.²

On a careful examination of the cults connected with the Aśoka pillars at Lauriyā Ararāj and Lauriyā Nandangarh, I find that they are characterised by the undermentioned interesting features :—

- (1) A Buddhist memorial or object of great historical interest has been looked upon with feelings of great veneration by the ignorant Hindu villagers of the countryside and has been gradually adopted by them as an object of their worship.
- (2) Legends have been fabricated by the aforementioned Hindu villagers, whereby the origin of the stone pillars has been very fancifully explained by the supposed connection thereof with a hero of the great Indian epic the *Mahābhārata*.

¹ *Bengal District Gazetteer Champaran*. By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., Calcutta. The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1907. Pages 161-162.

² *Op. cit.* page 173.

- (3) The supposed connection of these stone pillars with, or their fancied resemblance to, the Phallus or the Siva-linga.
- (4) The point of view that worship of these stone pillars may probably be the vestige of the existence in very ancient times in Northern India of a pillar-cult similar to that of the Israelites.

I shall now take up for discussion the point no. 1. The evolution of the cult of the pillar-godling Laur Babā is most likely to be attributed to the fact that, after the fall of Buddhism, the Hindus removed from the pages of their *Purāṇas* all historical accounts of Buddhism that were embodied in them and, at the very same time, altered all the legends and traditions of the country with the object of effacing all traces of Buddhism from the chronicles of India. In this connection, Dr. Dineśa Chandra Sena says:—

“In the temples, the images of Buddha were still worshipped, but the priests called him by the name of a Hindu god such as Śiva or Viṣṇu. In one place, I found an image of the Buddha worshipped under the name of the feminine deity Chandi. In the temple of Tilabhāṇḍesvara at Benares, a very glorious image of the Buddha is called Jāṭasaṅkara or *Śiva with knotted hair*. The *jaṭā* or knotted hair is nothing but a fig-tree under which Buddha attained his Nirvāṇa. Though the Buddha is recognized by the Vaiṣṇavas as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Hindus did not tolerate his worship or anything connected with Buddhism in this country during the early days of the Renaissance.”¹

For the reasons stated above, it would appear that, after the fall of Buddhism and after the Paurāṇik Renaissance had commenced, the Hindus of Champāran in North Bihār began to look down with feelings of contempt upon the relics and memorials of Buddhism and, as the result thereof, fabricated stories or legends for the purpose of obliterating the

¹ *The Folk Literature of Bengal*, by Rai Sahib. Dineśa Chandra Sena, B. A., published by the University of Calcutta, 1920, page 153.

Buddhist traditions and associations intimately connected with these objects. Instead of calling the Aśokan pillars at Lauriya Araraj, Lauriya Nandangarh and Ramgarhwa by their proper designations, namely, that they were historic memorials left by the great Buddhist Emperor Aśoka, the Hindus of the country-side in Champāran began to regard and designate them as the relics of a Hindu mythical hero and, as the result thereof, to pay their devoirs to the same. In course of time their feelings of reverence for these stone pillars crystallized into a distinct cult, and, in this way, the Hindus of Champāran came to regard and reverence the Aśokan pillars at Lauriya Araraj and Lauriya Nandangarh as the outward symbols and manifestations of a vague, shadowy, animistic being or godling whom they dubbed with the title of Laur Bābā.

Then I come to point no. 2. The two religious works which are most popular with the Hindus of India are the two great epics the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. Though the Hindi *Rāmāyana* by Tulsidāsa, which has very rightly been called "the Bible of the Hindus of Northern India", is very popular among the Hindus of Bihār and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, still the *Mahābhārata* also enjoys a somewhat lesser degree of popularity amongst them.

Now, the *Mahābhārata* deals to a large extent with the deeds and activities of the five Pāṇḍava brothers Yudhisṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna Nakula and Sahadeva. Of these five brothers, Bhīma was credited with the possession of superhuman strength and prowess and performed exploits which required great physical energy and courage. He possessed a huge club which is famous, to this day, under the name of "Bhīma's Club" (भीमेर गदा). In fact, this hero of the *Mahābhārata* enjoys amongst the Hindus a fame and renown for extraordinary physical strength and prowess which is very similar to that enjoyed by Hercules amongst the ancient Greeks.

Even to the most casual observer the Aśokan pillars appear like huge clubs which have been set up erect upon the

earth. As the result of this appearance and for the express purpose of doing away with the tradition that the Aśokan pillars are Buddhist historic memorials, the Hindus of the country-side in Champāran fabricated legends whereby they converted these Buddhist relics into the club of the mythical hero Bhīma of *Mahābhārata* celebrity. For the purpose of confirming this transmutation of Buddhist historic memorials into the relic of a Hindu mythical hero, they invested the Aśokan pillars at Lauriya Nandangarh and Ramgarhwa with the designation of "Bhīm Singh ke *lathī*" or "*The staff of Bhīm the Valiant.*" They have furthermore gone so far as to metamorphose the pillar at Lauriya Araraj into the very embodiment and symbol of the same great *Mahābhārata* hero by dubbing it with the title of "Bhīm Bali Bābā" or "The Godling named Bhīm the Strong".

Now, I shall say a few words about point no. 3.

I have already stated above that the inhabitants of village Lauriya Araraj call the Aśokan pillar there by the name of "*Laur*" or "the Phallus." I am inclined to think that this shows that a slight leaven of Śiva-cultus has also got mixed up with the cult of the pillar-godling Laur Bābā or Bhīm Bali Bābā. But this godling does not appear to have been metamorphosed as yet into an incarnation of Śiva for there is a distinct place of worship dedicated to the latter deity in the village named Araraj which is situated close to the north of the Aśokan pillar at Lauriya.

Now the question arises : Did there ever exist in ancient times in Northern India a pillar-cult similar to that of the Israelites ? (*Vide* the point no. 4, *supra*).

Before answering this question we should consider what the characteristics were of the pillar-cult of the Israelites. It would appear that the ancient Israelites worshipped the sun-deity in the form of a pillar or obelisk and erected several such pillars at Bethshemish or Heliopolis, the destruction of which pillar-deities was predicted by the Prophet Jeremiah (xliii. 13). Sometimes pillars were erected and dedicated to the worship of

Jehovah or the Lord, as appears from the prediction contained in Isaiah xix, which was to the effect that "there shall be a 'pillar to' the Lord on the border of the land of Egypt."

But, so far as my knowledge goes, no pillar-cult similar to the one of the Israelites appears to have ever existed in ancient times in Northern India.

VII. - The Cult of the Snake-Godling Nāga Bābā.

This worship is performed for the purpose of appeasing the wrath of the snake-godling Nāga Bābā [नाग बाबा or the King-Cobra (*Ophiophagus elaps*)] and with the object of obtaining immunity from snake-bite. It is performed on any day in the Hindi month of Sāwan (July-August), after the occurrence of the Nāga Pānchamī Day which falls on the fifth day in the dark fortnight of the Hindi month of Sāwan.

The Bihāri womenfolk (especially the young women) fast on the day of this worship and, after dressing themselves in their best clothes, go from house to house, singing the following folk-ballad in honour of the snake-godling Nāga Bābā and collecting alms. [The text in Devanāgarī script of this folk-ballad is being published for the first time in Appendix I of this paper and the English translation thereof in Appendix II hereof].

They parade the streets all day long, and, in the evening of the same day, purchase, with the money which had been collected as alms during the daytime, *āṭā* (or coarse wheaten flour) and *paṭori* (or cotton yarn dyed red). From what I shall say later on, it would appear that this red cotton yarn is used as the Brahmanical thread for the snake-godling who is believed to be a Brahmaṇa.

The *āṭā* is made into a paste with the addition of milk. Thereafter two snake-like figurines, representing the snake-godling Nāga-Bābā and his spouse the Nāgīnī, are made out of this paste.

Then the celebrant womenfolk take the two figurines of snake to the *Māi-āsthāna* [माई आस्थान or "the shrine of their village-goddessling Māi" or "*The Mother*"].

After their arrival there, they cover up the two figurines of snake with the red cotton yarn (*paṭori*). The fact of doing this symbolizes the act of investing the snake-godling Nāga Bābā with the Brāhmanical thread. Then they dig a hole in the ground in front of the symbolical image of the village goddessling Mai, and bury therein the two figurines of snake by placing them inside this hole and by throwing therein *khai* (खै) or fried paddy and by spilling therein milk for the snake-godling's food and drink.

Thereafter the celebrant womenfolk return to their respective homes, and take their meals, thereby breaking the fast which they have been keeping all day long.

I must state here that, while performing the rite of burying the snake-godling and his spouse, the celebrant womenfolk sing the undermentioned folk-ballad in honour of Nāga Bābā all the time they are so engaged.¹

I am inclined to think that the folk-ballad embodies a legend which sets forth the way whereby the snake Nāga became transformed into a godling.

From the following English translation of this folk-ballad, it would appear that, in the village grinding-floor, a Brāhmaṇa's young daughter was grinding wheat in a hand-mill. The male snake Nāga and his female mate—the Nāgini—happened to come there. The male snake somehow got inside the hand-mill. But the Brāhmaṇa girl did not notice this incident. So she went on grinding the wheat, and, thus unknowingly, crushed the male snake to death. In this way, the spirit of the crushed snake Nāga became transformed into the snake-godling Nāga Bābā.

The ballad also sets forth the various kinds of boons that would be conferred on those persons who would contribute alms for the worship of the snake-godling. The value of the boons

¹ For a good deal of the information about the cult of the snake-godling Nāga Bābā, which has been embodied in this paper, I am indebted to P. K. Mitra, Esqr., M.Sc., Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Motihari in district Champaran, North Bihar.

varies according to the value of the alms that might be contributed.

Finally, the ballad holds out the threat that those persons who would not contribute the required alms for the snake-godling's worship, would be bitten to death by snakes during the months of July, August and September.

The ritual, which is performed by the Bihāri womenfolk, corresponds to the facts set forth in the aforementioned legend. The Nāga has been killed and thereafter transformed into a godling. A suitable funeral ceremony should, therefore, be performed over his remains. It is for this reason that the Bihāri womenfolk make two figurines of a male and a female snake out of the *āṭā* and bury them in a hole in the village goddessling's shrine [I am inclined to think that the Nāgīnī, though not dead, is also buried in order that she might keep company with her deceased mate—the Nāga Bābā.]

The snake's wrath has been aroused to an extraordinary degree by the careless way in which his death has been brought about. He should, therefore, be propitiated by the presentation to him of suitable offerings, in order that his anger may cool down. It is for this reason that the Bihāri womenfolk beg for alms, and, with the money procured in this way, purchase *āṭā* and milk wherewith they make the paste out of which the figurines of the Nāga and the Nāgīnī are manufactured. Thereafter they present the offerings of *khaī* or parched paddy and milk to the snake-godling by throwing the same into his grave. It is in this way that the snake-godling's wrath is sought to be appeased.

We should now try to find out whether similar rituals are performed for the purpose of propitiating the snake-godling in other parts of Bihar and in the adjoining districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Sir George Grierson says that, during the Hindi month of Sāwan (July-August), crowds of Bihāri womenfolk parade the streets of villages in Bihar and beg for alms for two and a half days. They call themselves *Nāgīns* or "The Wives of the Snake." During this period they abstain

from sleeping under a roof and from partaking of salt. They give away half of the alms (or money) thus collected to the Brāhmanas, and with the other half purchase salt and sweetstuffs which are partaken of by all the people of the village.¹ Though Sir George Grierson does not say this in so many words, I think that this ritual is, most likely, performed by the Bihāri womenfolk for the purpose of propitiating the snake-godling Nāga Bābā.

Then again, it is stated by him that, on the Nāga Panchamī day or "*The Dragon's Fifth*," low-caste Bihāri women parade the streets of towns and villages in North Bihar and sing songs for the purpose of propitiating the snakes.²

Similarly, in the eastern districts (which adjoin Bihar) of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, milk and dried rice are poured into a snake's hole on the Nāga Panchamī Day. While doing this, the votaries simply cry out: "Snake! snake!"³

The custom of making an image or of painting a figure of the Nāga for the purpose of worshipping it is also prevalent in other parts of Northern and North-Western India. In the hill tracts of North-Western India, the Nāga Panchamī festival is held on the fifth day in the Hindi month of Bhādo (August-September) and is known by the name of the Rikhi or Birurī Panchamī. Seven days previous to the day on which this festival takes place, the people soak wheat, gram and pulse in water. In the morning of the festival day, they paint *figures of snakes* and birds on the walls of their homes. Thereafter they take a wisp of grass, *tie it up in the form of a snake*, dip it in the water wherein the mixture of grains has been steeped, and then offer it along with money and sweetmeats to the snakes.⁴

¹ *Bihar Peasant Life*. By G. W. Grierson, Calcutta, 1885, page 405.

² *Maithili Chrestomathy*. By G. W. Grierson, page 23ff. (where examples of the folk-songs are given).

³ Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), page 272, quoting from *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. III., page 38.

⁴ *Himalayan Gazetteer*. By E. T. Atkinson, Two volumes. Allahabad, 1882-1884, Vol. II, page 351.

In Kangra, just after the celebration of the Diwālī or "The Feast of Lamps", another festival is held for the purpose of bidding farewell to snakes. At this festival, *the image of a snake, which is made out of cowdung, is worshipped.*¹

In Garhwal, the ground is, first of all, besmeared with a mixture of cowdung and mud. After this has been done, *figures of five, seven or nine snakes* are rudely drawn upon this ground with sandal-wood or turmeric-paste. Then, rice, beans and gram are parched. Lamps are lighted and waved and incense is burnt before the figures of the snakes. Offerings of food and fruits are also presented to them. These ceremonial rites are performed both in the morning and in the evening. The celebrants of this worship spend the night of the festival day by listening to recitals of legends which set forth the omnipotence of the snake-godling Nāga.²

Similarly, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the head of the family bathes in the morning of the Nāga Pan-chamī day and then draws on the walls of his sleeping room *two rude figures of snakes* and presents offerings to the Brāhmanas. The womenfolk also draw all round their dwelling-house a snake-like line of flour by way of a magic circle through which no snake can pass.³

Then again, in the hill tracts of the Panjab, every householder instals in his house an image of the Nāga (or harmless snake), places the latter in charge of his homestead, and holds the latter responsible for keeping off cobras and other venomous snakes therefrom, as these Nāgas are believed to possess the power of ejecting all cobras from the householders' homesteads. If a heavy rainfall should compel a Nāga to leave his hole, he is, in that case, worshipped. But the image of a cobra or of any other kind of venomous snake is never made for the purpose of worshipping it.⁴

¹ *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. III. page 75.

² Atkinson's *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II, page 836.

³ Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Edition of 1894), page 273.

⁴ *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. By W. Crooke, B.A., Allahabad Edition of 1894, page 276.

The *Grāmadevatās* or the village godlings and goddesslings are mere personifications or deifications of the powers of Nature, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, the Rivers and Waters, as also of the spirits or animistic beings which inflict diseases and cause sickness, and of the wicked and malevolent ghosts of deceased persons. Sometimes, they are the deifications of the spirits of good, pious and holy men.

In the villages situated in the plains of Northern India, no *Grāmadevatās* are held in greater veneration and looked upon with greater feelings of awe than "The Seven Mothers" (सप्तमाता), each of whom is believed to preside over and control some particular form of epidemic diseases, and is therefore worshipped and prayed to by the villagers whenever this malady breaks out. But *Śitalā* who presides over small-pox, is the most dreaded of all these "Seven Mothers". They are mere disease-goddesslings and are represented by seven conical-shaped mounds of earth standing on a plot of open ground, as will appear from the excellent illustration of their shrines which is published at page 536 of the first volume of Hutchinson's magnificently illustrated *Customs of the World*.

Then again, take the case of another village-godling whose shrine is depicted at page 534 of the same volume of the aforementioned work. This village-deity is symbolized by a small pile of earth which has been heaped up into the shape of an altar, and which is situated inside a mud-and-wattle hut. On stated occasions, the villagers offer on this altar (or rather to this godling) small quantities of grains, a few flowers or a little milk in order to propitiate him. But when a serious illness occurs in a votary's family, or a great trouble or tribulation is tided over by him a kid is sacrificed to this godling who appears to be an example of "the sainted dead".

The village-goddessling *Mai* or "The Mother" in whose shrine the two *ātā-made* figurines of the *Nāga* and the *Nāgini* are buried, appears to be the personification or deification of some "Power of Nature". Most likely she has some connection

with the Earth and may be regarded by the villagers of Champaran as the Earth-Mother. It is well known that snakes are "dedicated" or are looked upon as sacred to the Earth-Mother, for, in ancient Crete, snakes were consecrated to the Earth-Mother. I am, therefore, inclined to think that, for this reason, the two figurines of the Nāga and the Nāgīnī are buried in the shrine of the village-goddessling Māi.

Appendix I.

Text in Devanagari script.

(१)

- १। अथल् पथल् जोड़ी जतव रे जतव ।
- २। बेर बबुर जुड़व मातल रे ॥
- ३। येक ओरी पीसले वरमनी के छोकाड़ी ।
- ४। येक ओरी पीसले * (? वसीले) नगीनीआ हो ॥
- ५। मोरा नाग दुलखा हो ॥

(२)

- १। येक ओरी गीरले गहुआ के आटव ।
- २। येक ओरी गीरले साम्पके बेंचुरव हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलखा हो ॥

(३)

- १। हम् नाही जननी नाग होइहें जतव में ।
- २। आंचरा बहार भीकव नइले हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलखा हो ॥

(४)

- १। अपने करने नाग जाता मैं पीसैले ।
- २। दुनीया के लगावे अछरंगवे हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलखा हो ॥

* The word पीसले which means "is grinding" appears to be mistake for the word बसीले which means "is sitting".

(५)

- १। अपने ही गइले नाग पुखो बनोजीया ।
- २। नागीन् करहीं नौहोरवै हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

(६)

- १। अपने जे खाले नाग पांचो पकवनव ।
- २। हमरा के फोका सतुअव हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

(७)

- १। जवन जवन देश हमहु ना देखली ।
- २। नाग करनै हम देखली ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

(८)

- १। जीनी मोरा नगवके कोदी भोछा दीहें ।
- २। दुनु वेकत् फटोअइ है ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

(९)

- १। जीनी मोरा नगवके सरसो भीख दीहें ।
- २। लाल लाल बेटवा बीअइहें हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥
- ४। सेर वाद् के दवनी हो ।
- ५। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

(१०)

- १। जीनी मोरा नगवके चउरा भीख दीहै
- २। दधरा पर वेड़ोया बन्हइय हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

(११)

- १। जोनो मोरा नगवके तीसी भीखा दीहै ।
- २। दुनु वेकत् लपटो अइहै हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

(१२)

- १। जीनी मोरा नगवके भीखव खीपइहै ।
- २। सावन् भदउआ पछतइहै हो ॥
- ३। मोरा नाग दुलरुआ हो ॥

Appendix II.

Translation.

I.

1. The hand-mill (is made of) a pair of hard stones.
2. The hand-mill is whirling rapidly (*lit.* is drunken) (on its pivot which is made of the wood of) the *bael* [tree (*Egle marmelos*)] and the *babul* [tree (*Acacia farnesiana*)].
- 3 & 4. On one side (of the place set apart for grinding), a Brāhmaṇa-woman's young daughter is grinding (wheat) (in the hand-mill), (while) a female snake is sitting on the other side (of the place set apart for grinding).
5. (The female snake sobs and cries out): "O my beloved snake (—mate) ! (whither have you gone ?)"

II.

1. Coarse flour (*ātā*) of wheat is falling out of one side (of the hand-mill).

2. The (crushed) snake's slough is coming out of (*lit.* falling from) the other side (of the hand-mill).

3. (The female snake sobbed and cried out): "O my beloved snake (—mate) ! (who has killed you ?)"

III.

1 & 2. (The Brāhmaṇa-woman's young daughter said): "I did not know that (your mate)—the (male) snake—was inside the hand-mill. (Had I known that the snake was inside the hand-mill), I would have swept (the hand-mill) clean (of the snake) with the hem (of my *sārī*)."

3. (The female snake sobbed and cried out): "O my beloved snake (—mate) ! (why have you left me ?)"

IV.

1 & 2. (The Brāhmaṇa-woman's young daughter further said): "(Your mate)—the snake—got crushed in the hand-mill through his own folly. (But you) are blaming me (*lit.* the world) (for having brought about your mate's death)".

3. (The female snake sobbed and cried out): "O my beloved snake (—mate) ! (why have you left me ?)"

V.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake said): "(My) snake (—mate) himself went to carry on trade in the eastern countries (*lit.* the east). I (*lit.* the female snake) made earnest entreaties (to accompany him on this trading expedition). O my beloved snake (—mate) ! (why have you left me ?)"

VI.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake further said): "(My) snake (—mate) himself partook of five (kinds of) sweetmeats. (While) I (have to content myself with partaking of plain *sātu* (or barley-meal). O my beloved snake (—mate) ! (why have you left me ?)"

VII.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake further said): "I have, by the loving assistance of (*lit.* on account of) (my) snake

(—mate), visited (*lit.* seen) those countries which I never visited (*lit.* saw) (ever before). O my beloved snake (—mate)! (why have you left me ?) ”

VIII.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake again said) : “ My deceased snake (—mate) has now become a godling. Whoever will give to my snake (—godling) alms (consisting of the grains) of *kodo* (*Paspalum frumentaceum*), will, with his (or her) spouse, attain to exalted rank (—*lit.* will burst with pride). O my beloved snake (—godling)!”

IX.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake again said) : “ Whichever (woman) will give to my snake (—godling) alms (consisting) of mustard-seeds, will give birth to fair-complexioned (*lit.* red-complexioned) sons. O my beloved snake (—godling)!”

4 & 5. [She further said: “ Whichever (man) will give to my snake (godling) alms (consisting) of mustard-seeds] will acquire great prowess and physical strength [*lit.*, will overcome the tiger and the he-buffalo (*lit.* ox) (in a hand-to-hand struggle)]. O my beloved snake (—godling)!”

X.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake again said) : “ Whoever will give to my snake (—godling) alms (consisting) of rice, will acquire great wealth [*lit.* will build a granary at the door-way (of his or her house)]. O my beloved snake (—godling)!”

XI.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake further said) : “ Whoever will give to my snake (—godling) alms (consisting) of linseed, will quarrel with his (or her) spouse. O my beloved snake (—godling)!”

XII.

1, 2 & 3. (The female snake further said) : “ Whoever will not give (*lit.* will conceal) alms to my snake (—godling),

will rue (for his or her niggardliness) in (the months of) Sāwan (July-August) and Bhādo (August-September). [That is to say, he or she will be bitten by snakes and will die in the months of Sāwan and Bhādo when the rainy season will be at its height and the whole countryside will become infested by snakes]. O my beloved snake (—godling)!”

XII.—Human Scapegoat.

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

From a very ancient time, the remoteness of which it is not easy to gauge, the idea seems to have prevailed that when man committed any sin, the sin could be transferred from him either to another man or to an animal. It seems that this belief in the transference of sin was shared by people the world over in various stages of social evolution. There is a saying of the *Hitopadeśa* that if an *atithi* (suitor) turns away from one's house without the rites of hospitality having been properly rendered to him, he carries away all the merits of the householder and transfers to the latter all his sins.¹ The essential idea underlying pilgrimages to holy places resorted to by the Hindus is that sins can somehow be removed there. It struck me during my visit to holy places, especially Benares, that when there was a hard bargain as to the fee to be paid to the *Pāṇḍā* (pilgrim-hunter?), the latter regarded it to have been very low, considering, as he pleaded, that he had taken on his (capacious ?) shoulders the entire burden of the sins of the pilgrims. His contention was that the fee paid to him was not commensurate with the services he rendered to the *Yātrīs* (pilgrims). It is plain from the above that sin is supposed to be something of the nature of material substance which can be detached from and attached to persons, and the transference itself is thus a marketable commodity which allows of bargain. But all cannot pay alike. Some pay high wages, some medium and some low; and are accordingly classified as *Uttama*² (best), *Madhyama* (middling) and *Adhama* (low).

¹ *Sa tasmai dushkr̥tāṃ datvā puṇyam ādāya gacchati.*—*Hitopadesa*.

² *cf.* the *Lāla yātrīs* of Brindāvana.

Detachability of sins is at the fundament of such concepts as atonement (*prāyascitta*) and vicarious sacrifice. Frequent allusions to this belief are to be found in the Bible.

"But he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all;"³

"Who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification;"⁴

"For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;"⁵

"Grace be to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from the present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father;"⁶

"Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree;"⁷

"And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour;"⁸

"Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: *by whose stripes ye were healed*;"⁹

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit;"¹⁰

"That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, Himself took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses;"¹¹ and so on.

³ Isaiah liii. 5, 6.

⁴ Romans iv. 25; also viii. 3.

⁵ II Corinthians v. 21.

⁶ Galatians i. 3-4.

⁷ Galatians iii. 13.

⁸ Ephesians v. 2; see also Hebrews vii. 27.

⁹ I Peter ii. 24.

¹⁰ I Peter iii. 18.

¹¹ St. Matthew viii. 17.

Two instances of transference of sin from man to man may be cited from the Pāli Jātakas. In the *Dasa-brāhmaṇa* Jataka (No. 495) an account is given of degraded Brahmins :

Aññe dhanassa kāmāhi hetthā mañce pasakkhita
rājāno upari nahāyanti somayāge upaṭṭhite
Maḥamajjanasamā rājā te pi vuccanti brāhmaṇa.

“ Others lie for the love of money under the bed of kings ; the latter bathe over them after a soma offering is ready. Bathers they resemble, etc.”

This is explained by R. Fick in his *Die Sociale Gliederung* (trans. by Dr. S. K. Maitra, page 220, footnote) : “ He (the king) sits —so explains the commentator—on a platform adorned with the precious stones and bathes on it. *By this the impurity and the blame of the king pass over to the Brahmins standing below who then sit on a platform at the termination of the sacrifice and are washed off all blame by other Brahmanas.*¹² As rewards they receive the costly bed and the whole jewellery of the king.” The allusion is, of course, to the celebration of the famous Soma sacrifice (Somayāga) in which by means of sacrificial bath all sin and blame became detached from the kings. Thus in India even from the Vedic times a sacrificial bathing was all that was necessary to transfer sin to another.

The other reference is to the *Sarabhaṅga* Jataka (No. 522) where we read:

“ Tasmiṃ kāle Daṇḍakirājā ekam laddhasakkāraṃ gaṇikam thānā cāvesi. Sā attano dhammatāya vicaranti uyyānaṃ gantvā Kisavacchatāpasam disvā ‘ayam kālakaṇṇī bhavissati ; imassa sarīre *kalim pavāhetvā*¹² nahatvā gamissāmīti’ dantakaṭṭham khādītva sabbapaṭhamam tassa *bahalaḥḥelaṃ niṭṭhubhanti*¹³ Kisa- vacchatāpasassa jaṇantare niṭṭhubhitvā dantakaṭṭham pi’ssa sise khipitvā sayam *sīsam nahāyitvā*¹³ gatā, rājāpi tam saritvā pākatikam eva akāsi, sā mohamūlā hutvā *‘kālakaṇṇīsarīre kalim pavāhetvā mayā yaso laddho’*¹³ ti saññam akāsi. ”

¹², ¹³ Italics are mine.

Translation.—At this time King Daṇḍaki deposed from her position a courtesan whom he had greatly honoured, and roaming about at her own will, she came to the park, and seeing the ascetic Kisavaccha she thought, “Surely this must be Ill-Luck. *I will get rid of my sin on his person* ¹³ and will then *go and bathe*.” ¹³ And at first biting her tooth-stick, she *spat out* ¹³ a quantity of phlegm, and not only spat on the matted locks of the ascetic, but also threw her tooth-stick at his head and went and *bathed*. ¹³ And the king calling her to mind restored her to her former position. And infatuated by her folly she came to the conclusion that she had recovered this honour because she had got rid of her sin on the person of Ill-Luck. ¹⁴

I have to draw attention to the italicised expressions in the Pāli extract which refer to the transference of sin (*kalim*), spitting and bathing.

Incidentally I may mention that spitting was regarded as a means of bringing in good luck and averting bad luck. As a charm it was widely practised in Asia, Europe and Africa. Donald A. Mackenzie says ¹⁵: “Saliva, like tears, had creative and therefore curative qualities; *it also expelled and injured demons and brought good luck*. Spitting ceremonies are referred to in the religious literature of Ancient Egypt..... Park, the explorer, refers in his *Travels* to his carriers spitting on a flat stone to ensure a good journey. Arabian holy men and descendants of Mohammed spit to cure diseases..... Theocritus, Sophocles and Plutarch testify to the ancient Grecian customs of spitting to cure and curse, and also to bless when children are named. Pliny has expressed belief in the efficacy of the fasting spittle for curing disease and referred to the custom of spitting to avert witchcraft..... Like Pliny Scott recommended ceremonial spitting as a charm against witchcraft. In China spitting to expel demons is a common practice.”

¹³ Italics are mine.

¹⁴ Cambridge Translation of the Jatakas by Cowell and Rouse.

¹⁵ *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, pages 46, 47.

By a curious mental process sin and disease became closely allied to one another and both to malignant spirits. Spitting in one form or another is practised by superstitious people as a protective charm against spirits and therefore against sin, disease and bad luck. Even to-day in village homes of Bengal an anxious mother leaving her newly-born babe in a lonely room for a while will, before she leaves it, spit on its bosom as a protective charm against spirits and as an additional safeguard keep an iron thing under the bed of the child. I remember when I was about seven years of age I was asked to spit upon my bosom whenever I passed beneath an *aswattha* tree (*Ficus Religiosa*) in dreary loneliness of a summer noontide and at the sight of the slightest curl of a slight whirlwind which doubtless was caused by spirits !

The bathing referred to in the Pāli passage is very much like the *asūca snāna* of the Bengalis, or purificatory bathing. The idea is so very ingrained that a Bengali after the performance of a disgusting task, which he affects to style as sin (*bāñcā gela, pāpa gela, neje āsi*) says he longs to bathe, bathes he actually or not. This bathing of the head (*sīsam nahāyitvā*) therefore may be compared with the purificatory washing after the sin is transferred to the scape-goat :

“And he (the high priest) shall wash his flesh with water in the holy place..... And he that let go the goat for the scapegoat shall wash his clothes, and bathe his flesh in water, and afterward come into the camp.”¹⁶

In an article entitled *Narabali* (Human Sacrifice) published in the *Manasi-O-Marmavāni* (Magh, 1324 ; page 627) appears a passage translated from the selections from the Records of the Government of India No. 5, Suppression of Human Sacrifice and Infanticide, 1845 (Report by Russell) which I am re-translating. The reference is to the sacrifice of a human victim by the Malias of Gumsam before the goddess Thanda Pennu:—

“ On the day of sacrifice the hapless victim is again made

¹⁶ Leviticus xvi. 24, 26.

to drink so much toddy that he becomes almost senseless. Then all his limbs are thoroughly drenched in oil. All men and women in this horrible bacchanalia touch the greased limbs of the victim and with the oil taken from his body besmear their own heads. *They believe that by this process the burden of their sins is shoved on to the shoulders of the devoted victim.*"¹⁷

Sir R. C. Temple's *A Human Scapegoat and His Antidote* published in the *Indian Antiquary* (July, 1923, page 185) is interesting and shows that "a human being acts the part of the sin-transferrer," here not the sin of an individual but of the whole city.

"At the Tibetan New Year is enacted at the temple the annual ceremony of purifying the city of the evils of the outgoing year. The Lamas produce a beggar man who is willing, through fanaticism and promise of eternal merit, to risk his life in the strangest of ceremonies. Naked, he clothes himself in the putrid entrails of animals, with the vile, bloody intestines coiled round his head, neck, arms and body.

"He represents the evil, the disease, the ill-luck, and the bad things of the last year. He runs out of the temple door, and the mad populace beat drums and blow trumpets to frighten away the devil in him"

Dr. L. A. Waddell in his *Lhasa and Its Mysteries* says how at the Tibetan festival of the New Year the "Flying Spirit" confers good fortune on the Grand Lama and his country,¹⁸ "and the *Flying spirit* appears to take the part of a good angel rather than a scapegoat, as he is fêted and does not flee into retirement."

Frazer¹⁹ refers to the *tahika* (= to vomit) rite of savages showing that sin is essentially remissable, being conceived as "Something almost physical, a sort of morbid substance

¹⁷ Italics are mine.

¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 398. "Slides an acrobat, carrying good luck for the incoming year amidst the huzzas of 50,000 peoples."

¹⁹ *Golden Bough* (Taboo and Perils of the Soul) p. 214ff.

lurking in the sinner's body, from which it could be expelled by confession as by a sort of spiritual purge or emetic." To show that "Sin sits heavy on the stomach rather than on his conscience," he relates that the savage Akikuyu expels sin by the employment of a scapegoat for "carting away moral rubbish and dumping it somewhere else....If a Kikuyu man has committed incest which would naturally entail his death, he introduces a substitute in the shape of a he-goat, to which by an ignoble ceremony he transfers his guilt. Then the throat of the animal is cut and the human culprit is thereby purged of sin."

This is a case of transferring sin to an animal. The transference of sin to animals resorted to by the Jews has been related in *Leviticus* xvi, and especially verses, 21, 22.

"21. And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness.

"22. And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited; and he shall let go the goat into the wilderness."

A Babylonian inscription quoted in *E.R.E.* (Scapegoat, *q.v.*) seems to indicate a belief in "species of transmission rite" *Urieu*—probably a variant of *masgul-dub-ba* "might have served vicariously for the life of a man and the parts of the animal are enumerated one by one with the corresponding parts of the man" for the cure of disease.

XIII.—The Oriya Alphabet.

By the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. I.C.S.

In 1921 Sir George Grierson suggested to the Government of Bihar and Orissa that a complete list of the Oriya printed and written characters should be compiled for the use of scholars. The following is an extract from his letter explaining the objects of the undertaking :

“For Bengali and Nagari there have for many years been in existence such complete lists, not only of the simple letters, but also of all the compound consonants, but nothing of the sort is available for Oriya, the character of which is by no means easy to read. The best grammars of the language give only the simple letters and a few examples of the compound consonants. There are many important Sanskrit works existing in manuscripts written in this character, but few who are not natives of Orissa can read them, and as a result hardly anyone knows of the existence of treasures of the Indian literature existing in that province. What is wanted is a list of the simple characters, notes on the various modes, regular and irregular, of attaching vowels to consonants and a complete list of the compound consonants. If letters have any names given to them, as is the case in other parts of India, these also should be given.”

The notes and lists which are printed below were compiled in accordance with Sir George Grierson's suggestion by Pandit Kasi Nath Das, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, working in collaboration with Pandit Mrityanjaya Rath of the Collegiate School, Cuttack. The lists have been reproduced by the Superintendent of the Government Press, Gulzarbagh, with the assistance of the Deputy Director of Surveys, Bihar and Orissa.

Note (1).—Structure of the Oriya Alphabet.

The Oriya alphabet is based on the same system as that of the Nāgri alphabet and it puts *m*, *ṁ* and *ḥ* at the end of the vowels, like some alphabets of Northern India. The alphabet is usually begun in Oriya with the invocation “*ōṁ siddhirastu*” which is allied to the invocation of some Indian languages, viz. “*ōṁ namah siddhain*”. The Oriya invocation simply means “may the learner attain success” in mastering the alphabets and in the knowledge which he may have occasion to acquire later on.

There are no special names for the various letters in Oriya like the Nāgari and the Bengali, but unlike the Gurumukhi and the Śarada (Kāshmiri). At best we can add Kāra कार to them as in Sanskrit.

Note (2).—Origin of the Oriya Alphabet.

The ancient Indian characters which are found in the Aśokan inscriptions are said to be the originals from which Bengali, Marathi, Oriya, etc., derived their sources. As shown in all paleographic books, these characters underwent various modifications in different centuries; e.g. the characters of the Gupta inscriptions prevalent in central and upper India in the fourth and fifth centuries are quite different from those found in the ancient monuments of Aśoka's time. These Gupta inscriptions gave rise to the ‘Kutila’ inscriptions prevalent in India from about 800 to 1200 A.D. It can be easily supposed that the characters prevalent in different parts of Oriyan India, as distinguished from the Dravidian, were almost the same. But according to the historians from the twelfth century onwards a political separation from the central government gave rise to consequent separation of the linguistic development in the different provinces. The Oriyas following their neighbouring nations the Telugus, Tamils, etc., developed in a peculiar formation their provincial ‘Kutila’ characters. As the palmleaves were the only writing materials in ancient Orissa as in other parts of the sea-coast provinces of Southern India, an

iron style (called stilus) was employed for scratching in the characters, and this gave rise to the rounded shape of the Oriya characters which originally sprung from the Kutila characters. If the long straight horizontal mātṛā of the Devanāgarī or other characters were used, the stilus in forming it would split the palmleaf which contains a longitudinal fibre running from the stalk to the point. In parts of Ganjam in the Madras Presidency in which the Oriya language is spoken the characters have become more rounded than in Orissa proper owing to the contiguity of the Telugus in those parts.

Note (3).—The Brahmini and Karani Characters.

There are two peculiar forms of Oriya character, one is called 'Brahmani' and is found used in palmleaf manuscripts, and the other is called 'Karani' and is generally used nowadays in writing out documents. As their names would show, one was extensively prevalent amongst the Brahmins of Orissa who are generally writers of sāstras or religious works; the other originated from amongst the Karans, including of course Kṣātiyas and Khandāṭṭs of Orissa. Some Brahmani and Karani letters are shown here, along with the Brahmini numerals. Although the Karani letters are given at the end of some alphabet books, it is to be regretted that no mention is made of the Brahmani letters. After a careful comparison of various palmleaf manuscripts a list has been made out and it is hoped that it will be both interesting and serviceable.

Vowels, Etc.

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Remarks.
ōm	ॐ	ଓ	This is the opening invocation
si	सि	ସି	
ddhi	द्धि	द्धି	
ra	र	ର	
stu	स्तु	ସ୍ତୁ	
a	अ	ଅ	The sign | is placed to the right of the consonant.
ā	आ	ଆ	
-ā	।	|	
i	इ	ଇ	
-i	।	|	
u	उ	ଉ	This sign () is placed on the head of the consonant.
-u	।	|	
ū	ऊ	ଊ	
-ū	।	|	
r	रु	ରୁ	
-r	।	|	Placed below.
ṛ	ॠ	ॠ	
-ṛ	।	|	
ṡ	ॡ	ॡ	
-ṡ	।	|	
l	ल	ଲ	(1) This letter sounds as ru in Oriya.
-l	।	|	
			Placed below.
			(2) This letter sounds as lu in Oriya.
			Placed below.

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Remarks.
ē	ए	ଏ	
-ē	८	୯	Placed to the left
ai	ऐ	ଐ	
-ai	८	୯	୯ Placed to left & ୯ placed on the right side top
ō	ओ	ଌ	
-ō	८	୯	୯ Placed to left & ୯ on the right
au	औ	ଐ	
-au	८	୯	୯ Placed to left & ୯ on the right
m̐	८	୦	अनुस्वार-अनुस्वार-Anusvāra
m̐	८	८	Placed right side top
h̐	:	९	चन्द्रबिन्दु - चन्द्रबिन्दु Chandrabindu
h̐	:	९	विसर्ग - विसर्ग-Visarga placed to the right
ϕ	x	४८	उपध्मानौय-Upadhmanīya
,	s	६	अवग्रह-Avagraha

The *m̐*, *m̐* and *h̐* are given in some alphabet books at the end of the consonants. But as their pronunciation after the consonants requires the combination of the vowels they have been shown here.

Consonants.

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Remarks.
ka	क	କ	
kha	ख	ख	
ga	ग	ଗ	
gha	घ	ଘ	
na	ङ	ଙ	
ca	च	ଚ	
cha	छ	ଛ	
ja	ज	ଜ	
jha	झ	ଝ	
na	ञ	ଞ	
ta	ट	ଟ	
tha	ठ	ଠ	
da	ड	ଡ	
dha	ढ	ढ	
na	ण	ଣ	
ta	त	ତ	
tha	थ	ଥ	
da	द	ଦ	
dha	ध	ଧ	
na	न	ନ	

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Remarks.
pa	प	ପ	
pha	फ	ଫ	
ba	ब	ବ	
bha	भ	ଭ	
ma	म	ମ	
ya	य	(1) ଯ	(1) The sound of this in Oriya is more like ja than ya. The letter sound is only explicit in conjunct letters.
ra	र	ର	
la	ल (?)	(2) ଲ	(2) The transliteration of this as la would show that its pronunciation is quite peculiar & is not to be had in other languages.
va	व	(3) ବ	(3) The sound of this ବ is similar to that of ବ enumerated in the Pa-
śa	श	ଶ	class. The sound of this letter (ବ ବ)
ṣa	ष	ଷ	is quite distinct in the Gujarātī,
sa	स	ସ	Marhattī and Sindhi, but in Benga-
ha	ह	ହ	lī and Oriya no distinction is
kṣa	क्ष	କ୍ଷ	made in writing out these differ-
ya	य	ୟ	ent ବ's not in pronouncing them;
la	ल	ଲ	but as in conjunct letters the sound
da	ड	ଡ	of ବ as va or ma is quite distinct &
dha	ढ	ଢ	is indispensable this letter has been
			shown here.
			These two letters are as a rule never
			used in the beginning of a word &
			of but ଶବ୍ଦ and ଶବ୍ଦ but ଶବ୍ଦ

Consonants followed by vowels.

Roman	Nagari	Oriya	Oriya name in Nagari	Oriya name in Oriya	Oriya name in Roman	Remarks.
ka	क	କ	करे बाढ़ि का	କରେ ବାଢ଼ି କା	karē baḍi kā	(1) Baḍi means a rod.
kā	का	କା (1)	करे चिता कि	କରେ ଚିତା କି	karē chitā ki	(2) chitā means a mark made on the forehead with sandal
ki	कि	କି (2)	करे आहुही को	କରେ ଆହୁ଼ହୀ କୋ	karē ankudī kō	on the forehead with sandal
kē	कौ	କା (3)	करे मरि मरु कु	କରେ ମରି ମରୁ କୁ	karē charaṇika kū	karē juice in the shape of a semi-circle.
ku	कु	କୁ (4)	करे वपडिआ कू	କରେ ବପଡ଼ିଆ କୁ	karē vapadā ankudī -kū	(3) Ankudī means a hook.
kū	कू	କୁ (5)	They have no special names as they are not generally given in oriya alphabets.			(4) Charaṇika means figure - four
ky	कु	କୁ				(5) Vapadā means the sign of an oblique matra (7)
k̄	कृ	କୃ				(6) Ōḍā means a bent sign.
kaī	के	କେ (6)	करे ओढ़ा के	କରେ ଓଢ଼ା କେ	karē ōḍā kē	(7) Chhatani means a whip.
kai	कै	କୈ (7)	करे ओढ़ाकाटणि कै	କରେ ଓଢ଼ାକାଟଣି କୈ	karē ōḍā chātani -kai	(8) This sign and the name are
kō	को	କୋ (8)	करे ओढ़ा बाढ़ि को	କରେ ଓଢ଼ା ବାଢ଼ି କୋ	karē ōḍā baḍi kō	the combinations of those of (1) & (6).
kau	कौ	କୌ (9)	करे ओढ़ा बाढ़ि काटणि कौ	କରେ ଓଢ଼ା ବାଢ଼ି କାଟଣି କୌ	karē ōḍā baḍi chātani -kau	(9) This sign and the name are the combinations of those of 7 and 8. କେ
karu	कं	କ	करे अनुसार कं	କରେ ଅନୁସାର କ	karē anusār kaṁ	
kah	कः	କଃ	करे विसर्ग कः	କରେ ବସର୍ଗ କଃ	karē visarga kaḥ	

Conjunct Consonants.

The following is a list of conjunct consonants. Their names are based on their constituent parts, and they are read as Kara Ka, Kka, Kha,

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Roman	Nāgarī	Oriyā	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriyā	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriyā
kka	कू	कू	kma	कम	कू	khya	ख्य	ख
kkha	कख	कू	kya	कय	कू	khra	ख्र	ख
kna	कण	कू	kra	क	कू	gna	ग्न	ग
kta	क	कू	krya	कय	कू	gda	गद	ग
ktya	कय	कू	kla	क	कू	gdha	गध	ग
ktra	क	कू	kva	क	कू	gna	गन	ग
ktva	क	कू	krya	कय	कू	gha	गव	ग
ktha	कथ	कू	kṣa	कष	कू	gma	गम	ग
ktḥya	कथ्य	कू	kṣma	कषम	कू	gya	गय	ग
kna	क	कू	kṣya	कषय	कू	gra	ग्र	ग
krya	कय	कू	kṣva	कषव	कू			

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya
grya	ଗ୍ରୀ	ଘ୍ରୀ	nghrau	ଘ୍ରୀ	ଘ୍ରୀ	ñca	ଞ	ଞ
gva	ଗ୍ବ	ଘ୍ବ	nma	ଞା	ଞା	ñema	ଞା	ଞା
ghna	ଘ	ଘ	cca	ଞ	ଞ	ñeya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ
ghnya	ଘୟ	ଘୟ	çha	ଞ	ଞ	ñcha	ଞ	ଞ
ghma	ଘା	ଘା	çhra	ଞ	ଞ	ñja	ଞ	ଞ
ghya	ଘ୍ୟ	ଘ୍ୟ	çña	ଞ	ଞ	ñya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ
ghra	ଘ୍ର	ଘ୍ର	ema	ଞା	ଞା	tta	ଟ	ଟ
nka	ଞ	ଞ	eya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ	tta	ଟା	ଟା
nkta	ଞ	ଞ	cra	ଞ	ଞ	ttha	ଟ	ଟ
nktya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ	chya	ଞ	ଞ	tya	ଟୟ	ଟୟ
nktau	ଞୀ	ଞୀ	chra	ଞ	ଞ	ttya	ଟୟ	ଟୟ
nkya	ଞା	ଞା	jga	ଞା	ଞା	thra	ଟ	ଟ
nkṣa	ଞ	ଞ	jja	ଞ	ଞ	dga	ଟ	ଟ
nkṣva	ଞ	ଞ	jjha	ଞ	ଞ	dgya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ
nkha	ଞ	ଞ	jña	ଞ	ଞ	dgha	ଞ	ଞ
nkhya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ	jñā	ଞା	ଞା	dghra	ଞ	ଞ
nga	ଞ	ଞ	jñya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ	dja	ଞ	ଞ
ngya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ	jma	ଞା	ଞା	dda	ଞ	ଞ
ngha	ଞ	ଞ	jya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ	dda	ଞ	ଞ
nghya	ଞୟ	ଞୟ	jra	ଞ	ଞ	ddha	ଞ	ଞ
nghra	ଞ	ଞ	jva	ଞ	ଞ			

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya
dma	डम	ଡମ	tkra	क	କ	dga	ड	ଡ
dya	ड्य	ड्य	tta	न	न	dgha	ड	ड
dra	ड्र	ड्र	tlya	ल्य	ल्य	dghra	ड	ड
dhya	ड्या	ड्या	ttira	त्र	त्र	ddu	ड	ड
dhra	ड्ह	ड्ह	ttira	त्र	त्र	ddya	ड	ड
nta	ण्ट	ण्ट	tttha	ल्य	ल्य	ddha	ड	ड
ntā	णटा	ण्टा	tna	व	व	ddhya	ड	ड
ntha	णठ	णठ	tnya	व	व	dna	ड	ड
nthya	णठ्य	णठ्य	tpa	व	व	dba	ड	ड
nthyau	णठ्याँ	णठ्याँ	tpra	व	व	dbha	ड	ड
nda	ण्ड	ण्ड	tma	ल्य	ल्य	dbhya	ड	ड
ndya	ण्ड्य	ण्ड्य	tnya	ल्य	ल्य	dma	ड	ड
ndru	ण्ड्र	ण्ड्र	tya	ल	ल	dya	ड	ड
ndha	ण्ड्ह	ण्ड्ह	tra	व	व	dnu	ड	ड
nna	ण	ण	trya	ल्य	ल्य	drya	ड	ड
nñā	ण्ण	ण्ण	tva	व	व	dva	ड	ड
nma	णम	णम	tsa	ल	ल	dvya	ड	ड
nya	णय	णय	tsna	ल	ल	dhna	ध	ध
nva	णव	णव	tsnya	ल्य	ल्य	dhnya	ध	ध
tha	ल	ल	tsya	ल्य	ल्य	dhma	ध	ध
			thna	थ	थ	dhya	ध	ध
			thya	थ	थ	dhra	ध	ध

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya
dhrya	ध्र	ଧ୍ର	ppa	प	ପ୍ପ	mna	म	ମ୍
dhva	ध्व	ଧ୍ବ	pma	म	ମ୍	mpa	म	ମ୍
nka	क	କ	pya	य	ୟ	mpra	म	ମ୍
nta	त	ତ	pra	प्र	ପ୍ର	mba	म	ମ୍
ntya	त्य	ତ୍ୟ	pla	प	ପ୍	mbha	म	ମ୍
ntra	त्र	ତ୍ର	pva	व	ବ୍	mma	म	ମ୍
ntha	थ	ଥ	psa	स	ସ୍	mya	य	ୟ
nda	द	ଦ	psva	स्व	ସ୍ବ	mra	म	ମ୍
ndra	द्र	ଦ୍ର	bgba	घ	ଘ	mra	म	ମ୍
ndha	ध	ଧ	bja	वज	ବଜ	mra	म	ମ୍
ndhra	ध्र	ଧ୍ର	bda	द	ଦ୍	yya	य	ୟ
nna	न	ନ	bdha	ध	ଢ	yva	य	ୟ
npa	प	ପ	bna	न	ନ୍	rr	र	ର୍
npa	प	ପ	bba	ब	ब्	rka	क	କ୍
npa	प	ପ	bbha	भ	भ	rkha	ख	ख
npa	प	ପ	bbha	भ	भ	rga	ग	ग
nya	य	ୟ	bbhya	भ	भ	rga	घ	घ
nra	र	ର୍	bya	य	ୟ	rga	च	च
nra	र	ର୍	bra	ब	ब्	rga	ह	ह
nra	र	ର୍	bra	ब	ब्	rga	ज	ज
nra	र	र्	bhna	भ	भ	rga	ट	ट
pta	प	प्	bhya	भ	भ	rga	ठ	ठ
ptya	प	प्	bhra	भ	भ	rga	ड	ड
pna	प	प्	bhra	भ	भ	rga	ड	ड

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya
rdha	ଡି	ର୍	lla	ଲ୍	ଲ୍	stha	ସ୍ଥ	ଠ
rna	ଣି	ର୍	lva	ଲ୍	ଲ୍	sthā	ସ୍ଥା	ଠା
rta	ଟି	ର୍	vna	ବ୍	ବ୍	sna	ସ୍ନା	ଠେ
rtha	ଠି	ର୍	vya	ବ୍	ବ୍	sn̄ya	ସ୍ନୟ	ଠେ
rda	ଡି	ର୍	vra	ବ୍	ବ୍	spa	ସ୍ପା	ଠେ
rdha	ଝି	ର୍	vva	ବ୍	ବ୍	spra	ସ୍ପ୍ରା	ଠେ
rpa	ଝି	ର୍	śca	ସ୍	ଶ୍	spha	ସ୍ଫା	ଠେ
rpha	ଝି	ର୍	ścya	ସ୍	ଶ୍	sma	ସ୍ମା	ଠେ
rba	ବ୍	ର୍	śna	ସ୍	ଶ୍	śya	ସ୍	ଠେ
rbha	ଭି	ର୍	śya	ସ୍	ଶ୍	śva	ସ୍	ଠେ
rma	ମି	ର୍	śra	ସ୍	ଶ୍	ska	ସ୍କା	ଠେ
rya	ୟି	ର୍	śrya	ସ୍	ଶ୍	skha	ସ୍କହା	ଠେ
rla	ଲି	ର୍	śla	ସ୍	ଶ୍	sta	ସ୍ତା	ଠେ
rba	ବ୍	ର୍	śva	ସ୍	ଶ୍	stya	ସ୍ତୟା	ଠେ
rśa	ଶି	ର୍	śrya	ସ୍	ଶ୍	stra	ସ୍ତ୍ରା	ଠେ
rṣa	ଷି	ର୍	śśa	ସ୍	ଶ୍	stva	ସ୍ତ୍ବା	ଠେ
rsa	ମି	ର୍	śta	ସ୍	ଶ୍	stha	ସ୍ଥା	ଠେ
rha	ହି	ର୍	śtya	ସ୍	ଶ୍	sna	ସ୍ନା	ଠେ
lka	ଲ୍	ର୍	śtra	ସ୍	ଶ୍	sn̄ya	ସ୍ନୟ	ଠେ
lpa	ଲ୍	ର୍	strya	ସ୍	ଶ୍	spa	ସ୍ପା	ଠେ
lpha	ଲ୍	ର୍	śtra	ସ୍	ଶ୍	spha	ସ୍ଫା	ଠେ
lma	ଲ୍	ର୍	śtvā	ସ୍	ଶ୍	sma	ସ୍ମା	ଠେ
lya	ଲ୍	ର୍				sm̄ya	ସ୍ମୟ	ଠେ
lra	ଲ୍	ର୍				sya	ସ୍	ଠେ

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya
sra	स	ସ	hna	ह	ହ	hra	ह	ହ
stra	स्	ସ୍	hna	ह	ହ	hla	ह	ହ
ssa	स्	ସ୍	hma	ह	ह	hra	ह	ହ
sha	श	ଶ	hya	ह	ह			

Numerals.

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya	Oriya name in Nāgarī	Oriya name in oriya	Transliteration
1	१	୧	एक	ଏକ	ēka
2	२	୨	दुइ	ଦୁଇ	dui
3	३	୩	तिनि	ତିନି	tini
4	४	୪	चारि	ଚାରି	čāri
5	५	୫	पाञ्च	ପାଞ୍ଚ	Pañca
6	६	୬	छत्र	ଛତ୍ର	cha-a
7	७	୭	सात	ସାତ	sāta
8	८	୮	आठ	ଆଠ	ātha
9	९	୯	नअ	ନଅ	Na-a
10	१०	୧୦	दश	ଦଶ	da'sa
11	११	୧୧	एगार	ଏଗାର	ēgār
20	२०	୨୦	कोदिए	କୋଡ଼ିଏ	kōdie
30	३०	୩୦	तिरिश	ତିରିଶ	tiriś
100	१००	୧୦୦	श हे	ଶହେ	śahē
1000	१०००	୧୦୦୦	हजारे	ହଜାରେ	hajārē
10000	१००००	୧୦୦୦୦	दशहजार	ଦଶହଜାର	daśahajār

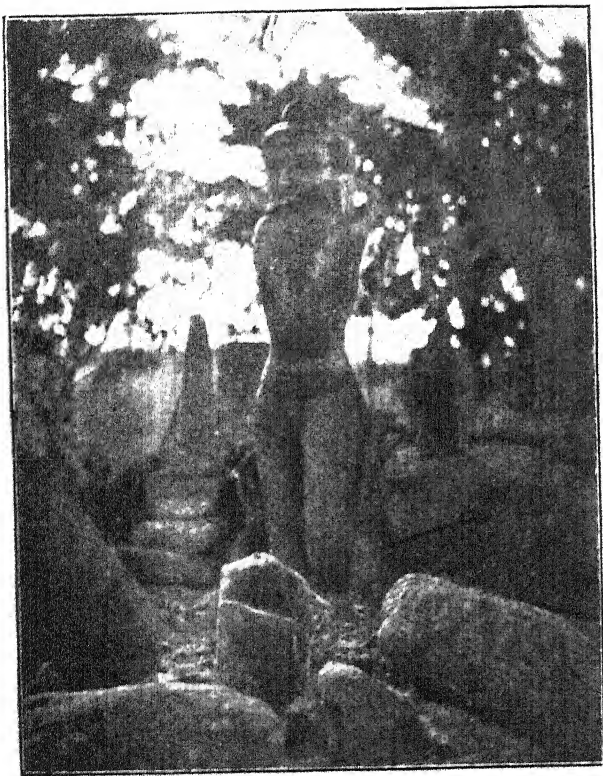
Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya Brahmani	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya Brahmani
a	अ	अ, आ	ā	आ	आ
ā	आ	अ, आ	ni	नि	नि
i	इ	इ, ई	ri	रि	रि
u	उ	उ, ँ	spa	स्फ	स्फ
ca	च	च	spha	स्फ	स्फ
dha	ध	ध	tra	त्र	त्र
bha	भ	भ	dhya	ध	ध, ङ
ha	ह	ह	dhru	ध्रु	ध्रु
ru	रु	रु	sya	स्य	स
yu	यु	यु	hru	ह्रु	ह्रु, ह्र
bhu	भु	भु	bhra	भ्र	भ्र, भ
tja	त्य	त्य	sya	स्य	स
tra	त्र	त्र	ngi	ङि	ङ
tma	त्त	त्त	dvi	दि	दि
ttha	त्थ	त्थ	ta	ट	ट
dhi	धि	धि	Bhr	भृ	भृ, भ्र
nta	न्त	न्त	Tri	त्रि	त्रि
snu	ष्ण	ष्ण	dvi	द्वि	द्वि
stu	स्तु	स्तु	sya	स्य	स
dru	द्रु	द्रु	ccā	च्चा	च्चा
dya	द्व	द्व	ntra	न्त्र	न्त्र
dba	द्व	द्व	bhū	भू	भू, भ
cā	चा	चा	tta	ट्ट	ट्ट
rā	रा	रा			
nga	ङ	ङ			
ngha	ङ्ग	ङ्ग			

Numerals

Roman	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Nāgarī	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०
Brahmani	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०

Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya (Karani)	Roman	Nāgarī	Oriya (Karani)
r	ऋ	୧	śrī	श्री	ଶ୍ରୀ, ଶ୍ରୀ
l	लू	୧	Kta	क	କ
ka	क	କ	hā	हा	ହା
cha	क	କ	tē	ते	ତେ
ja	ज	ଜ	mau	मौ	ମୌ
ta	ट	ଟ, ଠ	dhi	धि	ଧି
ta	त	ତ	br	वृ	ବୃ
dha	ध	ଧ	bu	बु	ବୁ
ba	व	ବ	ru	र	ର
bha	भ	ଭ	bē	वे	ବେ
ma	म	ମ	cā	चा	ଚା
ra	र	ର	dhya	छा	ଛା
la	ल	ଲ	su	सु	ସୁ
sa	स	ସ	hu	हु	ହୁ
ha	ह	ହ	nka	झ	ଝ, ଞ
kī	की	କି	khai	खाइ	ଖା
ta	ता	ତା	Pai	पाइ	ପା
ti	ति	ତି	Paṭhai	पठाइ	ପଠା
di	दि	ଡି	Sana	सन	ସନ
chi	हि	ହି	dhān	धान	ଧାନ
bā	बा	ବା	dī	ढी	ଢି
bai	वै	ବୈ	mā	मा	ମା
bī	बी	ବି	mbha	भ	ଭ
ri	रि	ରି	stā	स्ना	ସ୍ନା
ru	रु	ରୁ	thi	धि	ଧି
hi	हि	ହି	khi	खि	ଖି
sā	सा	ସା	nka	झं	ଝଂ
tī	ती	ତି	nga	झ	ଝ
la	ला	ଲା			

Rains at Gholāmārā.



J. B. & O. R. S. 1924.

XIV.—A Further Note on the Ruins at Gholamara (with plates).

By Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Ray, M.A.

Readers may refer to the note on the ruins at Gholāmārā in the district of Manbhum (about 8 miles to the north of Purulia) contributed by Dr. Banerji-Śāstri to the Research Society's Journal for June 1919. As mentioned in that article, I was with Professor Śāstri when he visited Gholāmārā and the adjoining places Baudgar and Chharrā. I paid a second visit to the ruins some months later, and had photographs taken of the Gholāmārā idol, known locally as Bhaironath, of the stone slab near it, with the figure of the goddess surmounted by a lion, and also of the Bāṇeswar image of Bāudgar village. The goddess underneath the lion has come out very indistinct.

The heads of the two votaries of the central figure at Gholāmārā are also not very distinct. The matted hair on the heads of these votaries takes very much the shape of peaked caps. Close to the Bhaironath image, we noticed projecting from among the heap of *debris* a pointed piece of stone very similar in shape to the peak of the caps of Bhaironath's votaries, and it struck both Dr. Śāstri and myself that this might be the peak of the matted hair of another figure entirely buried under the *debris*. We, therefore, started digging and were gratified to find that our supposition had been correct. We failed, however, to reach below the waist of the figure. The ground was very hard, and with Dr. Śāstri's walking stick as our only implement the excavation work naturally made but slow progress. It had already been arranged that I was to pay a second visit accompanied by a photographer; and we decided to put off also further excavation for extricating the images for this future date.

It was on the 7th January 1920 that I paid the second visit to Gholāmārā. This time I had with me not only a photographer, but also four men with shovels for digging ; and I started excavation of the ground surrounding the image of which the upper half Professor Śāstrī and I had extricated on the first visit as well as of the ground surrounding the slab with the lion. In an attempt to extricate the slab with the lion we failed, but with the image near Bhaironath, our efforts were crowned with success.

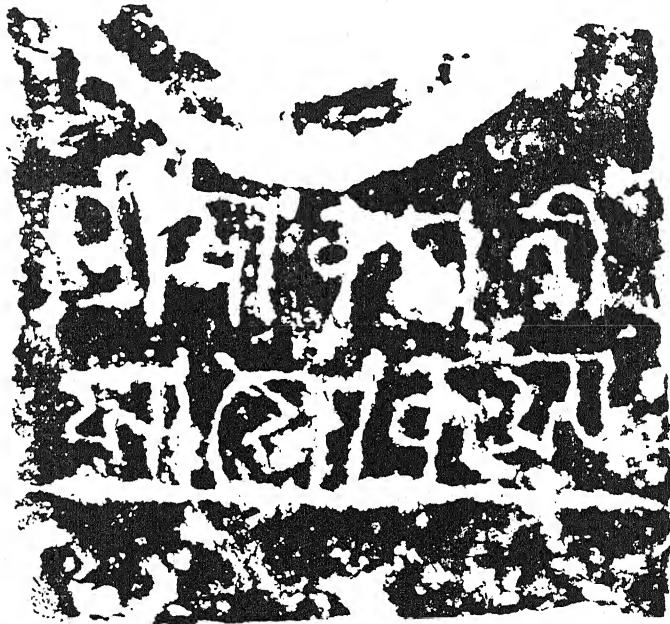
From the peak of the matted hair to the waist did not by any means represent one-half the depth that we had to dig, as Professor Śāstrī and I had imagined. And was not an isolated figure, as we had thought, but was one of a group of three figures standing on a pedestal. This one was, however, the only figure that remained intact. An apparently very similar figure at the other end of the pedestal was entirely gone ; of the central figure, which apparently was of the main god, to which the figures at the two sides were merely votaries, only the feet remained. The central portion of the pedestal is raised and bears the inscription *Śrī Lānapatī Sādhakoṣya*, referred to in Professor Śāstrī's note ; on either side of it there is a human figure, very probably one a male, the other a female, in worshipful attitude facing the inscription, and beyond it the figure of a strange-looking bird (or animal) looking the other way.

Professor Śāstrī did not know till after his note had been written that the inscription was on the same block of stone on which stood the image, the existence of which, buried under the debris, had been first brought to light by him and me. (I had intentionally refrained from mentioning it to him, as I wanted to give him a surprise when he would visit Purulia next ; and I did nothing beyond sending him a copy of the inscription, requesting him to decipher it and to fix its age.) With this limited knowledge, he naturally attached but little importance to the figure we had tried to extricate, which incident did not find even a passing mention in his note ; and regarding the stone containing the inscription he had nothing more to say than "an inscription was found carved on a slab half-buried there."

Hilsā Image Top inscription.



Gholāmārā Inscription.



J. B. & O. R. S. 1924.

Further excavation of the *debris* will very probably result in bringing out the bodies of the central figure, of which the feet still remain attached to the pedestal and of the second votary to its left-hand side. So long, however, as this is not done, we can only speculate as to what god the central figure was intended to represent. If the broken head referred to in Professor Śāstri's note¹ was of this central figure and if the Professor's conclusion that this head was of a Buddha be correct, it was a Buddhistic image that we had brought out of the the ground. There are, however, no other Buddhistic remains near about the place, and I am inclined to think that the central figure was of a Jain Tirthankara resembling in many respects the image of what is now worshipped as Bhaironath. The identity of this Tirthankara could be established if one could be sure what the two strange-looking animals carved at the two ends of the pedestal were intended to be. If they were birds, the image was presumably that of Sumatinātha whose distinctive symbol is a pair of Chakravāka birds; if, on the other hand, they were fanciful likenesses of lions, the Tirthankara was Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra Svāmī. The image is now in the Patna Museum, where it has been registered as serial No. 1596 (Archæology).

The villagers tell a very curious tale to explain why the god Bhaironāth lost his hands, while Bāṇesvar or Bāudgarā has as many as six. Bāṇesvar was on one occasion attacked by a number of banditti and, unable to protect himself, sought the assistance of the more potent god Bhaironāth. Bhaironāth spread out his hands which served as a sort of shield between Bāṇesvar and the banditti. The banditti cut off the hands with their sword and maimed Bhaironāth; they failed, however, to reach Bāṇesvar, for the hands fulfilled their mission of protecting Bhaironāth from the attacks of the robbers. When the banditti left, the two dismembered hands attached themselves

¹ I am not aware where this head now is. Professor Śāstri took it to Bankipur and presented it to the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, Member of the Board of Revenue, who was in charge of the Patna Museum.

AYODHYĀ (RĀNUPĀLI) Inscription.

[illegible]

to Bānesvar who had had only four hands before but thenceforth came to have six.

The god Bānesvar had very probably a temple at one time, although there are not much of ruins round about the image. But there are on the ground two pieces of stone, shaped like jars of the kind very often found on the tops of temples. These are locally described as Bāghrāis because, it is said, they are spirits of tigers turned into stone. They are reputed to be not altogether dead but to be in the habit of moving about at pleasure between village Baudgara and the adjoining village Jalkā which is the abode of Hāthithākur, the elephant-god. I have not been to Jalkā and do not know what Hāthithākur is, but I think it is a piece of stone carved into the figure of an elephant.

Professor Śāstrī had by his note tried "to induce people to undertake the task of unearthing the buried and forgotten remains" at Gholāmārā which could possibly throw "much interesting light on an obscure page of the history of Manbhum." Nearly five years have passed by since then, but the ruins remain as before, unheeded and uncared for by the outside world. This seemingly apathetic attitude may be due to an impression that the excavation would be a very costly undertaking that could be taken up by only very rich enthusiasts. But, as a matter of fact, the ruins at Gholāmārā form a comparatively small mound which it should be possible to get out and rehabilitate for probably less than a hundred rupees. One thing in particular seems to be very desirable, viz. to dig at least to the little depth (about two feet) required to reach to the bottom of the feet of Bhaironāth and of his two worshippers and of any pedestal that may support the same to find out if that pedestal does not bear some other inscription that might serve to fix the age of the ruins more definitely than the inscription already unearthed. It is in the hope of interesting people to undertake at least this much that this note is published.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Society's Office on the 17th February 1924.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I., Vice-President
(in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Professor J. N. Sarkar.

Professor S. N. Majumdar Sastri.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. W. V. Duke.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 25th November 1923.

2. The following new members were elected :—

Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History, University of Calcutta.

F. J. Richards, Esq., I.C.S., Chengalpat (Madras).

G. Ramadas, Esq., B.A., Head Master, Board High School, Jeypore, Vizagapatam District.

3. Considered the making of arrangements for the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

Resolved that Saturday, the 15th March, be provisionally fixed as the date for the meeting. The names of two eminent persons, who might be invited to deliver an address, were suggested. The Vice-President was asked to make a short statement, reviewing the activities of the Society during the year. It was decided not to have a photograph taken at this year's Annual Meeting.

4. Resolved that the following amendments to the Rules of the Society be moved, on behalf of the Council, at the Annual General Meeting :—

That in Rule 4 after the word "Treasurer", in line 2, the words "a Librarian" be added; and that in lines 3 and 4 for the words "and Treasurer" be substituted the words "Treasurer and Librarian." Further, that after Rule 23 the following Rule (numbered 23A) be added :—

Librarian. 23A. The Librarian shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office for one year. He shall be in general charge of the Society's Library, and Convener of the Library Committee.

5. Resolved that the following office-bearers and members of the Council for 1924 be proposed, or behalf of the Council, for election at the Annual General Meeting :—

President—His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I.

General Secretary—E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A.

Joint Secretary—D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A.

Treasurer—W. V. Duke, Esq., M.A.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Members of the Council.—

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, Kt.

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill, Kt., K.C.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Bar-at-Law.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

G. E. Fawcus, Esq., M.A., O.B.E.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D. Litt.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.

D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A.

Professor Surendranath Mazumdar Sastri, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

6. Considered a letter, dated the 9th January 1924, from Mr. V. H. Jackson, regarding the publication of the Buchanan Journal.

Resolved that Mr. Jackson be asked to proceed on the present lines with the preparation for publication of the Bhagalpur Journal; and that Mr. C. A. Oldham be asked to undertake the preparation of the Shahabad Journal for publication.

Resolved further that Mr. Jackson be asked to arrange, if possible, at the expense of the Society, either for a photograph or for a tracing to be made of the original map of Patna, imperfectly reproduced by Martin in his "Eastern India", for reproduction in the Society's Journal.

7. Read a letter, dated the 26th January 1924, from the Secretary, Gujrat Puratatva Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Resolved that the Secretary, Gujrat Puratatva Mandir, be asked to send a copy of his Quarterly Journal when the question of exchange of publications will be considered.

8. Considered a letter, dated the 21st January 1924, from the Secretary, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, asking that his Institute may be supplied gratis with a complete set of the Society's Journal.

Resolved that his request cannot be complied with. A complete set of Volumes I—VIII can be supplied at a cost of Rs. 150.

9. Read and recorded a letter from Dr. Sten Konow, dated the 3rd January 1924.

10. Read and recorded a letter from the Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, dated the 4th January 1924.

11. Resolved that the Secretary be directed to write to the Assistant Secretary to Government, Ministry of Education, requesting that payment may be sanctioned of the balance, viz., Rs. 1,000, of the grant of Rs. 6,000 to the Society voted by the Legislative Council for the year 1923-24.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

1 Res.J.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 15th March 1924 at 5 p.m. at Government House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, presiding.

1. Mr. E. A. Home, Honorary General Secretary, presented the Annual Report of the Society for 1923-24, which was taken as read.

2. Mr. W. V. Duke, Honorary Treasurer, presented the Annual Statement of Accounts for 1923-24, which was taken as read.

3. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal moved, on behalf of the Council, the following amendments to the Rules of the Society :—

That in Rule 4, after the word "Treasurer", in line 2, the words "a Librarian" be added ; and that in lines 3 and 4 for the words "and Treasurer" be substituted the words "Treasurer and Librarian".

Further, that after Rule 23 the following Rule (to be numbered 23A) be added, viz., "Librarian. 23A. The Librarian shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office for one year. He shall be in general charge of the Society's Library, and Convener of the Library Committee". The motion was duly seconded and adopted.

4. The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick moved, on behalf of the Council, that the following be elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1924-25 :—

President,—His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President.—The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I.

General Secretary.—E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A.

Joint Secretary.—D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A.

Treasurer.—W. V. Duke, Esq., M.A.

Librarian.—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President,
General Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian).

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, KT.

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill, KT., K.C.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Bar.-at-Law.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

G. E. Fawcus, Esq., M.A., O.B.E.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D.LITT.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law.

D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A.

Professor Surendranath Mazumdar Sastri, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

The motion was duly seconded and adopted.

5. The Vice-President (the Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson)
reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

6. His Excellency the President introduced Sir Ashutosh
Mukharji, who addressed the Society on "Historical Research in
Bihar and Orissa."

7. The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill proposed a vote of thanks
to the chair.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Note on Exhibits shown at the Annual Meeting.

The Patna Museum Committee exhibited some 150 coins from the valuable collection of Mogul coins, recently acquired from Professor C. J. Brown of Lucknow. Of the gold coins, the small coin of Humāyūn is rare ; that of Akbar, from the Muhammadābād Udaipur mint, dated 98[4] A. H., is extremely rare, only two other coins of this type being known ; that of Murād Bakhsh is extremely rare, only one other gold coin of Murād Bakhsh being known to exist ; that of Farrukhsiyar of the Firozgarh mint is very rare, being the only gold coin recorded of this mint ; the gold coin of Muhammad Shah of the Derajat mint is unique. Of the silver coins exhibited, the Nisārs or largess money of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb and the Dirhams Shirāis of Aurangzeb are very interesting, the latter being extremely rare ; that of Jahāngīr and Nūrbahān with the Zodiac sign of Capricornus from the Lahore mint, dated 1036-21 A. H., is extremely rare, and is a superb specimen, whereas the only other coin of this type, which is in Berlin, is rubbed ; the coin of Aurangzeb of the Shāhjahanābād mint, dated 1070 A. H., is unique.

The Museum Committee also exhibited the following, which were among other interesting finds unearthed last summer by the Curator (Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh) from the ancient Pātaliputra site—

1. Fragment of a sandal (*Kharaon*).
2. Round disc of blue glass, containing impression of a signet ring with a legend in ancient Brahmi characters of the third century B. C., which reads :—" Abhayavamaśa."
3. Fragments of glazed pottery, like the glazed pottery of ancient Greece, found at the Maurya level at Bulandibāgh.
4. Earthen dish, with the impression of a seal containing symbols such as are found on cast coins found at Pātaliputra and Rājgir.

The Committee exhibited the following from among the

very interesting sculptures purchased last year by the Museum from Mathura—

(i) A sandstone relief, containing the figure of Krishna holding the hill Govardhan and a cow with calf under it.

(ii) The figure of Nāga in blackstone. This and (i) above are of the Gupta Age.

(iii) Fine heads of Buddha and Bodhisattva of the Kushān Age in spotted red sandstone.

Fine sculptured reliefs and stucco heads from the Taxila and Peshāwar Museums, obtained on permanent loan from the Director-General of Archæology in India, were also exhibited. They are very beautiful and interesting specimens of ancient Indian Art.

Some interesting ethnological exhibits, collected by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, were also placed on view.

Playing cards, used for playing the ancient game of Ganjpa, presented by H. H. the Maharajah of Sonpur (Orissa), a Vice-Patron of the Society, in whose State these cards are made and painted by the Maharāna caste, were exhibited.

Principal D. N. Sen showed some photographs of Rājgir and Bodh Gaya.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at the Society's Office
on the 16th March 1924.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.S.I., Vice-President
(in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Professor J. N. Sarkar.

Professor S. N. Mazumdar Sastri.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhari.

Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri.

Mr. W. V. Duke.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the
Council, held on the 17th February 1924.

2. The following new members were elected :—

Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh of Monghyr (life member).

Lieut. Madhava Swarendra Sahi of Manjha (life member).

Godavari Misra, Esq., M.L.C., Banpur, Puri.

Jagabandhu Sinha, Esq., M.L.C., Puri.

C. B. P. Samantarai Mahapatra, Esq., M.L.C., Bhadrak,
Balasore.

Lakshmidhar Mahanti, Esq., M.L.C., Cuttack.

Pandit Balgovinda Malaviya, Patna City.

Syed Mohammad, Esq., Vakil, Patna (P. O. Moradpur).

Syed Mobarak Ali, Esq., M.L.C., Patna City.

Atul Krishna Rai, Esq., Vakil, Patna.

Kumar Gangananda Singh, M.L.A., Srinagar, Purnea.

3. The following were elected members of the Editorial Committee for the year 1924-25 :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (Editor), Professor S. N. Mazumdar Sastri and Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri.

4. The following were elected members of the Library Committee for the year 1924-25 :—

The Librarian (Convener), the Editor, the General Secretary, the Joint Secretary, the Treasurer and Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri.

5. With the concurrence of His Excellency the President, the Maharaja Bahadur of Hathwa was elected a Vice-Patron of the Society.

The Secretary was directed to write to the Maharaja Bahadur to thank him for his promised contribution of Rs. 5,000 to the Society's funds, which generous donation the Council propose to ear-mark for some special piece of work to be carried out under the auspices of the Society.

6. Considered letter No. 767E, dated the 7th March, 1924, from the Secretary to Government in the Ministry of Education.

Resolved that the Secretary point out in reply (1) that the Treasurer's conveyance allowance was sanctioned by the Council as long ago as 1920, and has been drawn by the Treasurer ever since; and that in view of the fact that the Treasurer, from the nature of his duties, has to attend the Society's office frequently, the allowance ought to continue to be paid; (2) that the Council consider that the telephone connection for the Secretary is necessary as a matter of administrative convenience.

7. Resolved that the next Quarterly Meeting of the Society be held on Monday, the 31st March, at 5 P.M.

8. Resolved that the proposal of the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, with regard to an exchange of publications be accepted; and also that a similar proposal from the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares, be accepted, provided that the latter Society can supply us (in return for a complete set of this Society's

Journal) with copies of all their past and current publications, including those published with the assistance of the United Provinces Government.

9. Resolved that the Editorial Committee prepare a table, showing the system of transliteration to be followed in articles published in the Society's Journal, and that this table be published once every year in the pages of the Journal.

10. Resolved that a revised list of members of the Society (including honorary and life members) be published in the next issue of the Journal.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting of
the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at the Srimati Radhika
Sinha Institute, Patna, on the 31st
March 1924.**

1. The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, Vice-President of the Society, was in the chair ; and some 40 members and visitors were present.

2. The following were elected members of the Society :—

1. Babu Murali Manohar Prasad, Editor, *Searchlight*, Patna.
2. Babu Bagishari Prasad Sinha, Assistant Editor, *Searchlight*, Patna.

3. The Secretary announced that he had received from Pandit Balgovinda Malaviya, a member of the Society, an invitation to the local members of the Society to pay a visit to his valuable Sanskrit library in Patna City. He thanked the Pandit on behalf of the Society, and said that a visit would be arranged next session.

4. Professor Jadunath Sarkar read a paper on "Shivaji" ; and Professor G. S. Bhaté and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal took part in the discussion which followed.

5. The chairman having expressed the thanks of the meeting to Professor Sarkar, Mr. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha for having so kindly entertained the members and Principal D. N. Sen proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Obituary Notice.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

We exceedingly regret to record the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, one of our most distinguished members. The interest which he took in the Society's work is evidenced by the address which he delivered to the Society in the beginning of this year and which is being published in this very issue. The cause of Oriental scholarship and research in general has suffered an irreparable loss by his sudden and tragic death which took place on the 25th of May in this town while Sir Asutosh was engaged in professional work as a lawyer. His appeal in the interest of Arabic and Ancient Indian research which he made during his address at our annual meeting is still ringing in our ears and it is difficult to believe that the great personality which made that appeal only the other day, has passed away. He had been, after the meeting, discussing with the Editors of this Journal a scheme of founding scholarships in Bihar and Orissa to encourage and keep up the spirit of research. This little fact gives a real inkling into the scholarly passion for learning and investigation of truth in this Indian combination of Jones and Colebrooke in one. Sir Asutosh was an admirer of the European method in research and his ambition was that the centre of that method in the field of Indology should change from Europe to India, and he strove to turn Calcutta into Oxford and the Sorbonne. Essentially, he was a patriot; to be more accurate, a patriot-scholar. He was an Indian, a true and loyal son of India, but he was a modernist of the western type, believing in the unbounded capabilities of the Indian mind, with the buoyancy of a Walt Whitman.

Indology, which used to be the interest and concern of scholars so few that their whole world could be put in a room was made by him a most popular subject at the Calcutta

University, within the last ten years. As a result, he has had a crop, of which a part, at least, would bear any test.

Sir Asutosh had a scheme for the publication of a number of Hindu law digests and their originals, beginning with Jagannātha Tarkapañchānana's work. In that series he wanted to bring out Sarvoru Trivedi's Digest, which he mentioned in his address to the Society. He himself edited, as a memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Jimūtavāhana's Vyavahāramātrkā. Unfortunately, the project, like so many others conceived by his encyclopædic mind, has suffered by his death.

The loss to that parent society of Indology, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by his removal, is as personal and severe as to the Calcutta University. With both these institutions he had identified himself so intimately that one could not think of these bodies as distinct from their soul, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Nearly sixty (born on the 28th of June 1864), Sir Asutosh was in the fullness of his powers, physical and intellectual. He achieved great things in life, but we expected more. A fitting homage to his memory would be to see that his mission be carried out in this country, towards which this Society, let us hope, will always strive to contribute.

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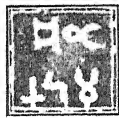
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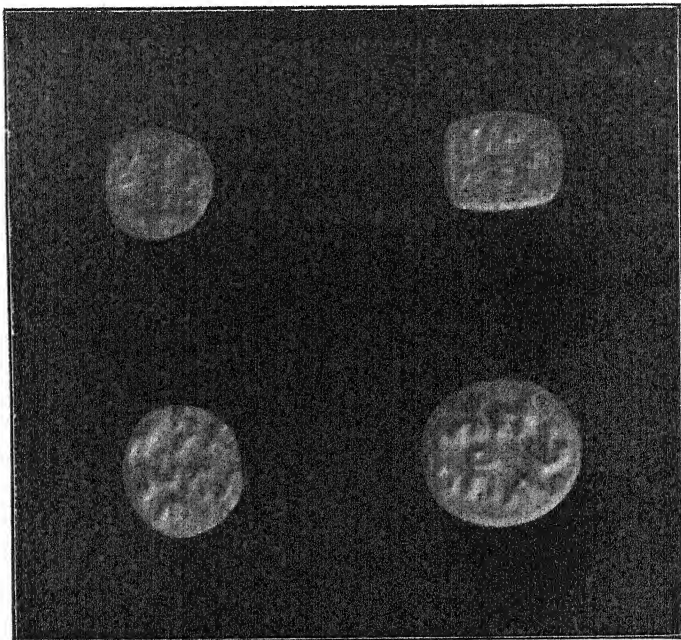
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PATNA DARGAH SEAL.



PATNA GLASS SEAL MATRICES.



J.BORS, 1924.

K.P.J.

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[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Brahmi Seals Newly Discovered at Patna.

By K. P. Jyāśwal, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.)

Very ancient Brāhmi seals, three in number, were found at Patna by Cunningham (A. S. R., XV, plate III). After Cunningham's discovery (1882), we have found the following six seals :—

I.—Four Glass Seals.

In 1919-20, when I took some friends from Bombay to the office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, at Patna to show them the antiquities dug out at Kumharār (the Tata excavations) by Dr. Spooner, three seals or rather seal-matrices were placed on the table for inspection along with other antiquities; they were then covered, two partially and one completely, with a white substance resembling plaster-of-paris. In that condition they had been found in the Pātaliputra excavations. At that time they were described in the office as Kharosthī seals; they had not been by then thoroughly examined. More importance had been attached to the material, which being glass was unique. I became interested in the

writing and on an immediate examination of the few letters which were without the white coating, I pronounced the seals to be in Brāhmī to the late Pandit V. Natesa Aiyar, the Superintendent. Attention of Sir Edward Gait, the then President of the Research Society and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, was drawn to the importance of the seals. I was advised to approach Dr. Spooner with a proposal for permission to decipher and publish the seals. Dr. Spooner with his usual courtesy permitted me at once to study and publish the finds.

In 1921 the three seals after being cleaned were placed before me by Mr. Monoranjan Ghosh, Curator, Patna Museum, to which place the Pāṭaliputra finds had been transferred. I read the seals then, but the publication was put off for want of proper arrangement for reproduction. The whole matter revived and received a new interest when one day Mr. Ghosh triumphantly brought to me his own find, the fourth seal which turned out to be the oldest of the group. It was found at Bulandī Bāgh by Mr. Ghosh in 1922 at a depth of 7 feet 6 inches. The first three were found at the depths of 13 feet 6 inches (Bulandī Bāgh), 9 feet, site no. 6 (Kumharār), and 13 feet, site no. 6 (Kumharār), in the years 1916, 1914 and 1914-15, respectively.

Rai Sahib Monoranjan Ghosh has kindly allowed me to read and publish his own seal, and has prepared the casts and photographs of the four seals. The reproductions are done from them, original size.

The first seal reads :

Mamaśa, = '(the seal) of *Mama*' (Skt.—*Marma*);

The second seal,

Chitasa, '(the seal) of *Chita*' (Skt.—*Chitra*);

The third seal,

Bhadanta } = '(the seal) of *Bhadanta*.
Lapagora } (Rev.) *Lapagora* (Skt.—*Lavagaura*);
sa }

The fourth seal,

Abhaya = '(the seal) of *Abhaya Varma*.
Vamasa

The first two seals have got symbols below the letters. The first one has one symbol, a steelyard representation¹. The second one has an arch, a conventional tree, a fish, and a *vasatika*². The letters are all in relief and in the positive. The material is glass, clear, transparent with a greenish tinge. Their thickness would be about one-eighth of an inch. For the description of the material I refer to Rai Sahib Monoranjan Ghosh's article published herein. I may only point out that glass beads and other glass articles have been found in the Mahenjo doro (Sind) excavations by Mr. R. D. Banerji. The finds there disclose a civilization as old as about 2500 B. C. Mr. Banerji has shown me several articles of his great excavations establishing affinities, he thinks, between the Cretan and this early Dravidian civilization of Sindh.

The glass seals have no catches on their back. The back portions are plain and smooth. It seems that they are moulds for preparing clay impressions which when burnt would have been the real matrices. On this hypothesis alone we can explain the positive legends of the seals and the want of catches. The legends in relief show clearly that the seals have been cast, which proves a developed stage of glass industry at Patna where the present glass industry has probably come down from ancient times.

The first three seals appear to belong to a period *circa* 200 B. C. Out of the three, the second is more archaic than the others. The fourth is more important from epigraphic point of view. The letters are certainly older than Aśoka's time. Its *y* and *v* may be compared with the Yogīmārā³ letters, and its *bh* with the same letter on the Patna statue. Its *m* is decisive and instructive; it is in a form reverse (upset) to the Aśokan, i.e., in the form which we find at Bhāṭṭiprola⁴.

¹ Cf. Rapson, *i.c.*, pl. I. 1., pl. IV. 2.

² The symbols have not come out well in the plate but are clear on the seal. Cf. the symbols on the Ayodhyā coin, Rapson, plate IV. 2.

³ *Ante*, IX p. 274 (pl.).

⁴ *Ante*, V 96 (pl.).

⁵ E. I. II 320 (pl.).

To find the Bhaṭṭiprolu form at Patna is a sure sign of pre-Aśokan antiquity. Further, the circle and the arms of the letter (*m*) are made separately as in the Sohagaura Plate letters.¹ The seal may be even older than 300 B. C. and we may even call it pre-Mauryan.

The language as denoted by the possessive *sa* is Māgadhi Prakṛita.² Dr. Spooner and Rai Sabib Monoranjan Ghosh are to be congratulated on the discovery of these important finds in such a unique material. To my knowledge, glass seals have not been discovered elsewhere.

II.—The Dargah Seal.

The fifth seal was discovered by me. Its discovery has been already described in my paper on the Patna Voustoir [See Proceedings of the Second Original Conference (Calcutta), 1922, p. 271]. It is at present in the possession of the Sajjādā-nashīn at the Dargāh near Kumharār. The Sajjādā-nashīn gives impressions of the seal on a paper in ink to be worn by his believers as a talisman. It is on a very smooth piece of some semi-precious stone, the exact variety of which I could not make out owing to the ink settled on the surface. The tradition about the seal is that it has come down from the first Sajjādā-nashīn since his occupation of the Dargāh site; that the first holy recipient was given this treasure by an evil spirit whom he fought and vanquished there. In other words, it was found at the Dargāh site by the Muhammadan occupiers.

The letters are in the positive and are incised. The legend reads :

Muḍaka (Skt.—*Muṇḍaka*).

There are two symbols above the Brāhmī lettering; the first one is a 'taurine' and the second below it, an oblong with projecting lines on its sides. The lettering shows that the seal belongs to the 2nd century B. C. The legend was

¹ J.R.A.S., 1907, p. 510 (pl.).

² The retention of unchanged in *r°gora* is, however, remarkable.

probably by mistake, engraved in the positive, with the result that an impression is to be read from right to left.

All the five seals, like Cunningham's three Patna seals, are private seals. Evidently ordinary individuals used seals largely in the Maurya and pre-Maurya times (Bühler¹ considered Cunningham's seals to be pre-Aśokan). Two of the latter belonged to women.

III.—A Clay Seal.

The sixth is a clay seal. It is a regular sealing, in unburnt clay, with a hole in its catch for passing thread which bound the epistle. It was dug out by Dr. Spooner from Kumhrār, site no. VI, from a depth of 9 feet 4 inches. It reads:—*Buddha-prasata* [śa?]

Its characters resemble those on the Eran coin, and excepting the *Abhayavama* seal it seems to be the oldest of the seals described here.

The legend is depressed and in the positive.

It seems to mean: 'the seal of *Buddha-prasasta* (or *Buddha-prasasti*).'

I hope to publish photographs of the sealing later.

¹ IP, p. 3 (I. A. 88).

II.—The Use of Glass in Ancient India.

By Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A., Curator,
Patna Museum.

It is a common belief that glass was introduced in India by foreigners during the Muhammadan time. Before entering the Archæological Department, I had also the same notion until I came across glass objects in the excavations at Taxila. The Pataliputra excavations gave us glass objects with letters which supplied a more definite clue and conclusively proved that glass manufacture was common in ancient India. A study of ancient Indian literature has confirmed the belief that glass was known in India from very early time and its use common in life in the time of the Buddha and from that time onwards there are continuous references to glass in Pali and Sanskrit literature.

(1) Reference to Glass in Ancient Literature of India.

In Vedic literature there is mention of *kācha* काच in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (माध्यन्दिनीये शतपथब्राह्मणे; 13 Adhāya, 2, 6, 8, p. 644; Etwa Edition). The passage reads एवमेतत्पशो स्कन्दति यस्य नित्तस्य लोमानि शीयन्ते यत्काचानावयन्ति लोमान्येवास्य सभ्ररन्ति हिरण्मया भवन्ति तस्योक्तं ब्राह्मणमेकशतमेकशतं काचानावायन्ति शतायुर्वै पुरुष आत्मैकशतं आयुष्ये वात्मन्प्रतिष्ठति.....

The passage can be translated thus :—

“When they (the wives) weave glass beads (काचान्) (into the mane and tail) they gather up its hair. They look like gold : the significance of this has been explained. One hundred and one glass beads they weave into (the hair of) each part ; for man has a life of hundred (years), and his

own self (or body) is the one hundred and first ; vital power, in the self, he established himself."

The word काचान् has been translated in the Sacred Books of the East by Prof. Eggeeling as pearls which is incorrect.

The date of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is about the eighth century B.C.

Next in order of time we find glass mentioned in *Pinaya Piṭaka* in two places :—

(a) In the Mahāvagga, V. 8, 3 the passage runs thus :—
विगरहित्वा धम्मिकथं क्त्वा भिखू आमन्तेसि : न भिखवे, तिण-
पादुका धारितव्वा, न मुञ्जपादुका धारितव्वा, न वव्वजपादुका धारे-
तव्वा, न ह्निन्तालपादुका धारितव्वा, न कमलपादुका धारितव्वा, न
कम्बलपादुका धारितव्वा, न सोवणमया पादुका धारितव्वा, न मणि-
मयापादुका धारितव्वा, न वेलुरियमया पादुका धारितव्वा, न फलि-
कमयापादुका धारितव्वा, न कंसमयापादुका धारितव्वा, न
काचमयापादुका धारितव्वा, न तिपुमयापादुका धारितव्वा, न
शीशमयापादुका धारितव्वा, न ताम्बलोहमयापादुका धारितव्वा, यो
धारिय्य आसत्ति दुक्कतस्स ।

It has been translated thus :—

" Having thus rebuked them, and having delivered a religious discourse, he thus addressed the Bhikkus : ' Shoes, O Bhikkus, made of *tina* grass are not to be worn, or made of *muñja* grass, or of *babbaga* grass, or of leaves of the date-palm, or of *kamala* grass, or of wool, nor (ornamented with) gold, or silver, or pearls, or beryls, or crystal, or copper, or glass or tin, or lead, or bronze whosoever does so, is guilty of a *dukkata* offence." (S.B.E. Vol. XVII, page 23, Oxford, 1882).

(b) In the Cullavagga, V. 9, 1 there is :—

तेन खो पन समयेन ह्मभगिया भिच्छु उवाचच पतु धरेन्ति सेवण-
मयम रूपमयम मनुस्सा उज्झायन्ति कामभोगिनो इति भगवतो एतम
अथ अरोचेसुं । न भिखवे सोवणमयो पट्ठो धारेतव्वो, न रुपमयो

पट्टो धारेतव्वो, न मणिमय पट्टो धारेतव्वो, न वेलुरियमय पट्टो धारे-
तव्वो, न वंशमयो पट्टो धारेतव्वो, न काचमयो पट्टो धारेतव्वो, न
तिपुमयो पट्टो धारेतव्वो, न शीशमयो पट्टो धारेतव्वो, न ताम्बलोहमय
पट्टो धारेतव्वो, यो धारेय्य आयस्सि दुक्कतस्स' ।

The above quotation has been translated by Messrs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg as follows :— " Now at that time the Chhabbagiya Bhikkus used bowls of various kinds made of gold and silver. The people murmured..... They told this matter to the blessed One.

" You are not, O Bhikkus, to use bowls made of gold, or made of silver, made of jewels, or made of beryl (Veluriya), or made of crystal, or made of copper, or made of *glass*, or made of tin, or made of lead, or made of bronze, whosoever does, shall be guilty of *dukkata*." (S.B.E. Vol. XX, paragraph 81-82.)

The next reference is in the Kautilya Arthasāstra. Kautilya speaks of robbery (साहसं) and its punishment.

(a) Kautilya holds that the punishment shall be proportionate to the crime.

In the case of articles of small value as flowers, vegetables, roots, bulbs, cooked rice, and vessels made of skins, bamboo (विणु) and earth, the fine shall range from 12 to 24 panas : for articles of great value, such as vessels of iron, wood, and rope and herds of minor quadrupeds, the fine shall range from 24 to 48 panas : Then Kautilya says :—

ताम्रवृत्तकंस काच दन्त भाण्डादीनां सुल द्रव्याणां भट्टचत्वारिं-
शत्पणावारं अगवतिपरं पूर्वसाहसदण्डः

(Kautilya Arthasāstra, Mysore, 1919, page 192.)

It has been translated :—

" For articles of still greater value such as vessels of copper, brass, bronze, *glass*, ivory, it shall range from 48 to 96 panas. This fine is termed the first amercement."

(b) Kautilya speaking of replenishing treasury states the sources :—

Merchants dealing in gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones,

pearls, coral, horses and elephants shall pay 50 *karas*. Those who trade in cotton threads, clothes, copper, brass, bronze, sandal, medicines and liquor shall pay 40 *karas*. Those who trade in grains, liquids, metals (iron), etc. and deal with carts shall pay 30 *karas*.

Further Kauṭilya says :—

काच व्यवहारिणो महाकारवच्च विंशतिकरा :

(Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, Mysore, 1919, page 243).

It has been translated :—

“ Those that carry on their trade in *glass* and also artisans of fine workmanship shall pay 20 *karas*.

In later Sanskrit literature there are numerous references to काच which prove that glass was in use during the ascendancy of the Guptas and later times. In the Śukranīti (240, 160) there is the line काच स्फटिकपात्रेषु. In the Kathā Saritsāgara (22, 216) न काचस्य कृते ज्ञातुं युक्त मुक्तमणि क्षतिः In the Śānti Śataka (1, 12) काच मूल्येन विक्रीतो हन्त चिन्तामणिर्मया In the sentence आकरे पद्मरागाणां जन्म काचमणि कुतः (H. Pr. 44) काचमणि clearly means glass, imitation gems in glass. There is also mention of glass mirror in the Mahāvaṃśa.

In the Śūsruta, Cal., 1885, edited by Abinash Chandra Kaviratna and Chandra Coomar Gupta, p. 584, there is a verse :

काच स्फटिक पात्रेषु शीतलेषु शुभेषु च ।

दद्यद्द्वैदूर्य पात्रेषु रागधाडवसृकान ॥

“ Food are to be served in cool and beautiful vessel of glass, crystal and *vaidduryyamani* (cat's eye) ”.

2. In the same book in page 93 there is the passage :—

**अनुशस्त्रानि तु त्वकसार-स्फटिक काचकुरविन्द जलीकाग्नि
क्षारनख गोप शेफालिका शाक पत्र करीर बालाङ्गुलय इति ।**

“ In the absence of other instruments, the purpose of instrument can be served by bamboo, crystal, *glass*, quartz, fire (अग्नि), क्षार, nails, *gopi* leaves, *sefalikā* leaves, *sāka* leaves, bud, hair and finger.

The above passages clearly prove that glass was known in ancient India from the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

(2) Glass and Archæological Excavation.

Now let us turn to the evidences for the use of glass in Archæology. In the Manikyāla Stūpa in the Punjab glass has been found deposited within the stūpa. The date of the Manikyāla Stūpa is about first century B.C. Pandit Dayaram Sahni, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Punjab, has found glass bangles in association with seals containing peculiar heiroglyphic legends and neolithic implements at Harappa, Montgomery District, Punjab.

Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India has found blue glass tiles at Taxila in Buddhist chapels which can be dated as early as second century B.C. Glass flask and fragments of glass have also been found at Taxila which according to Sir John Marshall can be dated as early as sixth century B.C.

More definite date for the use of glass has been obtained from the excavation at Pataliputra conducted by Dr. Spooner and by the writer of this article. Dr. Spooner has found three inscribed glass seal matrices with legends in Brāhmi characters (see Mr. Jayaswal's article in this Journal).

In my excavation at Bulandibagh, a site of Pataliputra north of the East Indian Railway line, I found in June 1922, one glass seal matrix containing a legend अभयवमश.

The above glasses with letters can be approximately dated from a study of the characters of their legends.

The description of glass seal matrices and other information about stratification are given below :—

(a) Bulandibagh glass disc with legend अभयवमश was found by me in square N33 C3 at a depth of 7' 6" b. s. It is of blue glass, possessing specific gravity 1.71. It is circular with a diameter of nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch or 20 centimetre.

(b) Of the three inscribed glasses found by Dr. Spooner, the one with legend भदेत लपगोरश has specific gravity 1.71 and is little oblong in shape with diameter of $\frac{1\frac{1}{8}}$ of an inch or 17 centimetre, it is over $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch or over 3 centimetres in thickness. The back is uneven, there being a slight raised portion at one end. It was found by Dr. Spooner at Kumrahar site no. VI at a depth of 13 ft. in square J4 B4 in the year 1914-15.

(c) The inscribed glass with the legend चितश was found by Dr. Spooner at Kumrahar site No. III, 1914 in the square J7 D4 at a depth of 9 ft. It is rectangular in shape, length in inches $\frac{5}{8}$, in centimetres 16; breadth a little over $\frac{1}{8}$ inch, in centimetre 13. Besides the legend चितश there is a letter or symbol which is just below चि. The letter or the symbol can be read ग. The symbol can also be some astronomical sign found on early cast coins.

Besides the symbol there are three other symbols which I describe from left to right. The first symbol is described as *Crua Ansata*, the Egyptian symbol of life. The second symbol at the corner looks like a fish, the third is svastika with one arm little defaced. Its thickness in inches is a little over $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch or a little over 3 centimetres. The sides of the glass are slightly bulging. Its specific gravity is 1.71.

(d) The third inscribed glass found by Dr. Spooner has first two letters which can be read clearly as मम, the third letter is most likely श but in fact the letter is not very clear. Below the legend is a symbol which looks more like a dagger. Like the above glasses it is also of blue colour with two white marks indicating some fault in the glass. Owing to these faults, the photograph is not so good. The inscribed glass is nearly circular and was found by Dr. Spooner at Bulandibagh in the square N3 4D at a depth of 13 ft. 6 in. It is about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch or 14 centimetres in length, about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch or 3 centimetres in thickness. Its specific gravity is 1.78.

From stratification we find that they were found between 7' 6" to 13' 6" which would mean that the above inscribed

glass *mudrās* were in use between the Śunga and the Maurya periods.

Another interesting glass gem (uninscribed) was found by me at depth of 22 ft. at Bulandibagh. It has a reflecting shining surface and is of light blue colour.

Conclusion.

With the help of legends in Brāhmī characters it can thus be stated that glass was in use in India about the third century B.C. The mention of काच in the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra will put the date of glass about 325 B.C. Sir John Marshall has assigned sixth century B.C. to the glass flask found at Taxila. If the word काच in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa means glass of which I do not see any doubt then the use of glass can be placed about the eighth century B.C., because scholars consider that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was composed about that date. Mr. R. D. Banerjee has found glass beads and other objects at Muhen-jo-Daro in Sindh at a distance of six miles from the railway station at Dokri on the Rohri-Kotri sections of the North-Western Railway. He places the glass and the Harappa like seals found there as early as 2500 B.C. He observes very close affinity in the objects found there with the objects excavated at Crete by Arthur Evans.

Outside India the earliest date for the use of glass was in Egypt 1400 B.C., because numerous glass beads and coloured glass have been found in abundance in the tomb of Tutankhamen who flourished about that date. Mr. Arthur Evans has found glass beads in the Palace of Knossos, Crete, and dates them as early as 3rd millennium B.C.

Pliny states that glass was introduced from Syria into Egypt. "There is scarcity of specimens of early glassware actually found in Egypt and the advanced technique of those which have been found lead to the supposition that glass-making was exotic and not a native industry." (En. Br., 11th ed., vol. XII, p. 97). Pliny gives a detailed account of preparing glass by mixing and fusing magnesium limestone with sand and

an alkaline substance. We know that there was early communication between Syria and India as references in the Bible would lead us to suppose. Gold, elephant tooth, ape and peacocks were taken from the port of Ophir to Asia Minor by merchants in the time of Solomon. Whether merchants brought the knowledge of glass-making from Syria into India or carried from India to Syria it is very difficult to prove, one way or the other, as no conclusive evidence has been obtained in India as yet, except the excavation of Mr. Banerjee, of which we await a full report. But on this point there is one passage of Pliny which is very significant.

“Pliny states (Natural History XXXVI, 26, 66) that no glass to be compared to the Indian, and gives as a reason that it was made from broken crystal; and in another passage (XII, 19, 42) he says that the Troglodytes brought to Ocelis (Ghella near Bab-el-mandab) objects of glass.” (En. Br. 11th ed., vol. XII, p. 105).

At old sites of India, crystal beads and crystal relic caskets have been found: such as Piprawa and Bhāṭṭiprolu crystal relic caskets. To ascertain whether the crystal objects found in ancient India is really crystal or glass, the crystal relic caskets and crystal beads ought to be examined chemically and tested.

III.—An Inscription of the Sunga Dynasty (with plate)

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

The Sungas.

The Brahmin dynasty which uprooted the Buddhist Mauryas and succeeded to the imperial throne of India about 188 ¹ B.C. brought about an orthodox revolution in literature and Hindu society. The dynasty adopted the *Gotra* name *Sūnga* ² as its title. This is evident from the inscription recorded by Dhana-bhūti at Bharhut "in the reign of the *Sūngas*" (*Suganam raje*) ³ and the Purāṇas which describe the dynasty under that name. The first *Sūnga* was *Pushyamitra* according to the Purāṇas, the Jaina tradition ⁴ and Buddhist books. ⁵ A son of his, probably not the eldest, was *Agnimitra* made famous by Kālidāsa through his drama *Malāvikā-Agnimitra*. *Pushyamitra* according to the Buddhists carried a war on the monks and monasteries of their faith. ⁶ During his reign the great grammarian Patañjali the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* lived at Pāṭaliputra and has recorded that *Pushyamitra* was engaged in a sacrifice while the grammarian was writing his book. ⁶ Kālidāsa in his drama mentions the *Aśvamedha* or the imperial horse sacrifice of *Pushyamitra* and makes his daughter-in-law refer to him as the 'Senāpati'. According to the Purāṇas *Pushyamitra* had been the chief of the military department or the army of the Mauryas (*Senāni* or *Senāpati*). Kālidāsa and

¹ *Ante*, I. 116.

² *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 257.

³ I.A., XIV. 133.

⁴ I.A. 46, p. 152.

⁵ J.B.O.R.S., IV. 263.

⁶ इह वसामः । इह पुष्यमित्रं याजयामः । — Pat., 'M. bh. on p. III. 2.123

Patañjali imply that there was a Greek invasion and that Pushyamitra defeated the Greeks. ¹

The Inscription.

No inscription of the dynasty had been found. A few months back Mr. Jagannath Das, Ratnakara, B.A., the Manager of the Ayodhyā Raj estate, came to know of an inscription at the door of a temple at Ayodhyā. It is in two lines. At first I read it from a plate prepared by the Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā and supplied to me by its Secretary. ² Since then, our local Government have kindly obtained a scientific impression by deputing Rai Sabib M. Ghose to Ayodhyā. I now give the definite reading prepared from it and reproduce it here. This turns out to be a record by a brother of the great Pushyamitra and confirms Patañjali, the Purāṇas and Kālidāsa, in several details.

I read the inscription thus :—

Line 1. Kosalādhipena dviraśvamedha-yājinaḥ Senāpateḥ
Pushyam[i]trasya shashṭhena Kauśīkiputrena Dhana—

Line 2. dharma-rājā[ā] pituḥ Phalgu
devasya ketanaṁ kṛitam.

Translation :—This *Ketana* (a statue house or a flagstaff— a funeral memorial) to Phalgudeva, (his) father is caused to be made by Dhana (deva), the *Dharma-rājan*, the ruler of Kosala, the son of (the Lady) Kauśikī, the sixth (brother) of *Senāpati* Pushyamitra who performed two *Aśva-medhas* (Horse-sacrifices).

The inscription is on a stone slab, 2½" thick, about 5' long and '9½' broad. The top portion of the slab is underneath the wooden frame of a door jamb at the *samādhi* or grave of a Nānak-shahi (Udāsi) Mahant in the village of Rānūpālī outside the town of Ayodhyā.

The new mahant Śrī Bābā Ksheshavrām on his succession made it known to Mr. Jagannath Das Ratnakara with a view to get it read. Both the Mahant who is educated and enlightened

¹ M. bh. on p. III, 2.111.

² Now published in the Nāgarī P. Patrikā, (1924) 95. See *Modern Review*, Calcutta, October, 1924. The plate is unfortunately not scientific.

and Mr. Jagannath Das have helped Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, Curator, Patna Museum, in preparing the impression.

The *samādhi* is about 100 years old.

The first line had its vowel-marks *i* and *ī* in *Pushyamitra* and *Kausikī*^o cut into by the wooden door frame. The *i*-mark to *m* is shallow and faint, but its existence seems to be certain. The portion after *Dhāna* is also concealed by a projection of the wooden frame. The area concealed on the right-hand end is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in the opinion of Mr. Ghosh, just enough for three letters or so. There were no letters before *dharmā*^o in the 2nd line: this is evident from the impressions and Mr. Ghosh's examination. The stone was apparently brought from some mound in the neighbourhood and Mr. Ghosh points out that the suburbs of Ayodhyā have many such mounds.

The form *dharmarājñā* (instrumental of *dharmarājan* as against *dharmarāja*), in view of Pāṇini's special rule of *tat-purusha* compound with *rājan*, has to be taken as a *bahu-vrīhi*, meaning 'one whose king is Dharma'. The Śuṅgas and their contemporaries had a theory against the Mauryas that they had broken the coronation oath and gone against the *dharmā* which every king undertook to protect and follow. (See *ante* Vol. IV. 260.) It is in accordance with that theory that the Śuṅgas should say that *dharmā* alone was their king as against the dethroned and dispossessed Mauryas.

The Śuṅga patronage of Ayodhyā is known from the Garga-saṃhitā. They evidently made Ayodhyā a second capital. The Rāmāyaṇa which was revised under the Śuṅgas gives the description of Pāṭaliputra to Ayodhyā (*mahatisāla mekhalā*, I. 5-12). On account of its importance, *Sāketa* (Ayodhyā) was, in the reign of Pushyamitra, invested by the *Yavana* (Greek) king; a fact recorded by Patanjali and Garga.

I restore the name as *Dhanadeva* from the coins which have been found at Ajodhyā bearing writing of the period and symbols of the Śunga dynasty coins (bull, etc.).¹ The name *Dhāna* comes after the mother's name exactly as in other inscriptions of

¹ V. Smith, C.C. I.M., 144, 148.

the time, e.g. that of Āshādhasena at Pabhosā ¹ and Dhanabhūti at Bharhut with which it agrees in epigraphy. We generally find the father's name before the mother's. In that view *Pushyamitra* would stand as the donor's father's name. But on the authority of Bhāsa who uses *madhyama* (M.V., pages 19, 23, 24) for the middle brother, I interpret *Pushyamitrasya shashthena* as "by the sixth (brother) of Pushyamitra", and take *pituh* as "to the father (of Dhana deva)" instead of "to the father of Pushyamitra (*Pushyamitrasya*)".

The inscription applies the title *Senāpati* which had been an ex-title like the '*Nizam*' of our time when the holder is no more a *Nizam*. It confirms the datum of Kālidāsa.

'Asvamedhas (Horse-Sacrifices).'

Pushyamitra had been an *Aśva-medha*-sacrificer as Kālidāsa says. But he performed that sacrifice twice (the reading is certain). The reason for this probably was that he had been defeated by Khāravela, evidently after his first sacrifice. ² He re-established his imperial position a second time. About five hundred years after, the Guptas introduced once again this orthodox imperial ritual and noted in their records that it had been long out of use, apparently for the reason that Buddhist and foreign and local dynasties had been ruling.

It will be to the second sacrifice that Kālidāsa was referring, for Pushyamitra had a grandson as an army officer at the time. Kālidāsa must have had contemporary records before him to note the intimate reference to him as *Senāpati* by the family members of the first Śunga. Probably he was reviving the traditions of the Śungas in literature, as the Gupta kings were doing in rituals. The Śungas had been fond of histrionics as recorded by Bāṇa.

Pushyamitra's Governors.

The Purāṇas say that Pushyamitra ruled through others.

"Pushyamitras tu senānir...kārayishyat vai rājyam.....
(Pargiter, P.T. 31). This means that he divided the empire

¹ E. G. II, p. 240.

² Hathigumpha inscription ante Vol. III, pages 444, 447 and IV, 384.

into sub-kingdoms, and Dhanadeva, a brother, had one of them. If Dhanadeva was the sixth son of Pushyamitra, we shall have to recall what the Purāṇas say further. The Vāyu Purāṇa adds that

Pushpamitra-sutā-śchāshṭau bhaviṣhyanti samā nripāḥ.

“Pushyamitra’s eight sons will rule equally.”

Does this mean that Pushyamitra had eight sons as provincial governors? It receives some support from what Kālidāsa describes. Agnimitra, a son, is ruling over Vidiśā with full powers, striking coins and having a Council of Ministers under him. Dhanadeva we find as the ruler of Kosala. Dhanadeva was the sixth (son?), and Agnimitra probably the second son. We have the coins of Agnimitra and Dhanadeva. Several of the other coins which we have as ‘Mitra’ coins and which bear names not known to the Purāṇas may have to be assigned to other sons and similar relatives.

The Purāṇas imply that *Vasujyeshṭha* alias *Su-Jyeshṭha* was the eldest. Some of the Purāṇas ignore Agnimitra altogether and place *Su-Jyeshṭha* immediately after Pushyamitra (see Matsya and Vāya), and they all agree in saying “and also *Su-Jyeshṭha*” will rule, i.e., ruled (*bhavitā cāpi* 8°) which implies that both Agnimitra and *Su-Jyeshṭha* ruled simultaneously for 8 and 7 years. Now without such a construction the aggregate of the individual reign-periods (118 years) exceeds by six or seven years the Purāṇic total (112 or 110) as given by different Purāṇas (Pargiter, P.T. 30). *Su-Jyeshṭha* was probably a misreading for *sa (śaḥ) Jyeshṭhaḥ* as the important *e-Vāyu* MS. of Mr. Pargiter gives. *Jyeshṭha* is identical with *Jetha-mitra* of the coins (C. A. C. I, pl. V also VII). *Jethamitra*’s coins show older lettering than Agnimitra’s. ‘*Jyeshṭha*’ (the Eldest) and ‘*Vasu-Jayeshṭha*’ (the eldest amongst the eight) signify that he was the eldest son of Pushyamitra.

Evidently Agnimitra continued to rule at Vidiśā, while *Jeshṭha* ruled at Pataliputra. After the two, Vasumitra, son of

Agnimitra, came to the throne of Magadha as all the Purāṇas give him unanimously in the Magadha list.

It seems certain that there was a virtual feudal division of the empire. Dhana-deva according to his coins and this inscription, which agree between themselves in epigraphy, was the lord of Kosala without reference to any other sovereign.

Epigraphy.

The inscription in letter-forms is later than Khāravēla, a contemporary of Pushyamitra, and the coins of Bahasatimitra (Pushyamitra) and Jetha-mitra. On epigraphic grounds we have to place Dhana-deva's inscription long after Bahasatimitra and Khāravēla, while his coins agree with that of Agnimitra. It must be now acknowledged that epigraphy is not a very sure guide for fixing chronology. It has been several times pointed out in this journal that several styles may be current at the same time (see the *n*'s in the two Pabhosā inscriptions of the same donor), and they may differ in different localities. Now the present inscription fully establishes that there were in the main two styles, one of which we may call monumental. This even later, as in the reign of Bhāgabhadra at Besnagar, retains older forms and style. And the other we may call the running or cursive style. This existed simultaneously, as the record of the reign of Śrī Śātakarni (I) (*ante* III, 472), the cursive writing at Dhauli (edict VI, *seto*)¹ and the present inscription prove. Here we have a writing of or near the time of Pushyamitra in cursive form, resembling the Kushan writing, while at Nagari (M.A.S. on Nagari excavations) the fragmentary inscription *tena sarva-tratena aśvamedha* [to be now read *aśvamedha-gājina Pushyamitreṇa*] resembling the writing of 200 B.C., and a midway script in the contemporary writing of Khāravēla mentioning Bahasatimitra and Demetrius. Thus about 150 B.C. and even earlier, as in the Orissa script of Aśoka, we have the cursive style side by side with the monumental.

¹ I.A., 33, app. page 8.

Language.

The language of the record is Sanskrit which supports the theory of the revival of Sanskrit under Pushyamitra as put forward in this journal (Volume IV). This along with the aśvamedha inscription and the Ghosundi inscription of Nagari complete the known Sanskrit inscriptions of the period. They all refer to the same régime.

IV.—Magical Practices, Omens and Dreams among the Birhors.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

In a previous article (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, pp. 455—482) I discussed the Birhōr's conception of spirits and other extra-human and super-normal entities and powers that arouse his 'religious sense', and I further described the methods of placation and propitiation, prayer, sacrifice and ritual feast that the tribe has adopted with the object of entering into some sort of relations with the more important spirits, and the methods of cajolery, trickery and intimidation adopted to delude or scare away or control the lesser spirits so as to secure good luck and avoid bad luck to the community, the family and the individual. In the present paper, I shall begin with a brief account of the rites and practices, spells and taboos by which the Birhōr seeks to attain the same ends either by utilizing or avoiding some magical virtue supposed to inhere in certain material objects or in certain pantomimic or other practices or in certain words or spells, or through the help of certain impersonal powers or energies which the Birhōr magician thinks he can set in motion through appropriate actions to further his own ends or those of his clientele or community.

Ordinarily a *māti* or magician is born and not made. Some men are from childhood more sensitive to supernatural influences than others. And such a sensitive person acquires either in a dream or a trance a familiar spirit or a tutelary deity by whom he is instructed as to the proper method of its propitiation. It is by the aid of such a spirit or deity that the *māti* is enabled to ply his art.

Any man may, however, be initiated into the mysteries of Training of the *mātiāo* or the magic art by an expert. a Magician. The disciple, like his master, is required to

remain fasting on Sundays till noon when he has to make offerings of *Bael* leaves and *gulaichi* flower, and burn incense in honour of *Mahādeo*. Special rules of diet have also to be observed.

(I) Magical Practices to Control the Elements.

In the collecting stage of economic culture, continual rain is extremely undesirable. The traditional magical practice by which the Birhōr seeks to stop rain is as follows : The youngest member (whether minor or adult) of a family put some *mohua* (*Basia latifolia*) flowers into an earthen jug, fills it with water and covers up its mouth with a leaf of the *sāru-yam*, which is tied up with a string passing round the neck of the jug, and then buried in a hole dug in the ground. The hole is then covered up with earth. It is believed that this is sure to stop rain. Birhōrs do not, like their Mūṇḍā neighbours, set up on the *āṅgan* a plough with the plough-handle pointing upward with the object of stopping rain.

At the sound of thunder or at the sight of flashes of lightning a Birhōr woman throws a husking pestle into the open space in front of her hut with the object of preventing the thunder from bursting and passing from the clouds to the earth.

The Birhōr believes that a child born of a mother who has not had the menstuous flow before conception, attracts lightning towards himself; and he will keep at a distance from such a person when lightning-flashes are seen or the sound of thunder is heard. Such a child is known as a *lāmbi-hōn*.

On such occasions, such a person wears at his waist a rounded pebble which is believed to prevent lightning from coming near or harming him.

Birhōr women also throw a husking pestle on the *āṅgan* when high winds blow or hailstorms occur, and this is said to make the wind abate its violence and hailstones to cease falling. It is believed that *Bhūr Dhūr Pañchō Panroā* is the spirit that

presides over such storms, and that it is this sprit of Herculean strength who uproots big trees and sweeps away the Birhōr's leaf-huts during storm. As Birhōrs of the *Jegseriā Lāṭhā* clan specially sacrifice to these spirits at their *thāāns* or spirit-seats, storms, it is said, always abate their force when approaching a settlement or encampment of this clan. And when high winds threaten the safety of their settlements, Birhōrs of other clans, too, invoke *Bhīr Dhīr Panchō Paṇrōa* and pour libations of water to this spirit at their *thāāns*, praying—"Do not pull down our poor leaf-huts; leave us in peace and pass on to the villages and towns where people have brick-houses and substantial buildings."

As the Birhōrs, as a tribe, have not yet taken to agriculture, they scarcely feel the need for seasonal rains. These few Jāghi families amongst them who have secured lands for cultivation have adopted from their Mūṇḍā neighbours their magical rain-making ceremony which is as follows: Early in the morning, they go up the nearest hill and push down stones of all sizes which produce a rumbling noise in falling to the ground and this noise is at the same time intensified by beating a drum so as to produce a low, heavy, continued sound, in imitation of the pattering of rain on the house-roofs.

(II) Magical Practices to Control Animals.

1. When a Birhōr's dog strays, he puts into a leaf-cup the refuse of boiled rice from his plate, and places the leaf-cup over the eaves of his hut on a Sunday night and calls out the dog by name three times. After this, it is believed, the dog is sure to return home before long, whithersoever it may have strayed.

Recovering a lost dog.
2. To remove the pest of bugs (*mōe*) the Birhōr smokes his hut by burning wood of a tree struck by lightning.

Driving away bugs.
3. When the Birhōr's hut is infested with mosquitoes (*sikri*), as generally happens in August, he places a lump of

boiled rice on the roof of his hut just near the eaves, and calls upon the *Bhūsri-bhut* (Mosquito-spirit) saying, "Here is offering for thee; do not come inside the hut any more". Here we have religion rather than magic proper.

4. If a snake of the species known as *Jāmrūbing* (Hindi, *dhāmnā sūp*) passes through a field of the *jonhē* millet (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) the grain when boiled and eaten will, the Birhōr asserts, cause intoxication. To prevent this, the Birhōr roasts some mustard seeds and throws them in the direction which the python has taken. By doing so, the intoxication, it is believed, is transferred to the snake.

As instances of imitative magic connected with animal life, the following may be mentioned :--

1. A Birhōr must not leave a rope or string hanging from the eaves of his hut. Should he do so, a snake will enter the hut.

2. A Birhōr, like a Santāl, must not wear a plaited loin string. Should he do so, he will be bitten by a snake.

(III) Magical Practices to Control or Affect Human Beings.

1. When a Birhōr wishes to win the affections of a person of the opposite sex, he gathers the roots of two plants named respectively as *Jāgmohani* and *Chāndoa*, pounds them and mixes them together, and then with the help of an intermediary called *gāhi*, manages to mix this magic medicine with some article of food for the beloved person. It is believed that as soon as this food is taken, the latter will feel an irresistible attraction for the person on whose behalf the spell is used.

2. In order to cause death or sickness to an enemy, an *Uṭhlā* Birhōr taking up some *āruā* rice in his hand invokes his *Nāsan* spirit and throws the rice in the direction of the house of the enemy, at the same time exhorting the spirit to go in that direction and afflict the enemy.

(IV) Magical Practices to Control Vegetable Life.

1. In order to secure an abundant crop of maize, *jōndli* (*Panicum miliare*) and the like, the head of a Birhōr family performs the following magico-religious rites. On the evening of the full moon of the month of Baisākh (April-May), some member of the family catches a small fish from a neighbouring stream or pool, brings it home and keeps it in a jug of water. Next morning, the space in front of the door of the hut is smeared with a coating of mud or, if available, cowdung, diluted in water. On this space is kept a *gāṇḍū* or wooden plank or low stool besmeared with rice-flour and marked with three marks of vermilion on the edge turned towards the west. A bamboo basket painted all over with thick white lines of rice-flour and spotted with three red marks of vermilion, is placed above the *gāṇḍu*. Inside this basket is placed a wooden *pailā* (grain-measure) similarly besmeared with rice-flour and marked with three marks of vermilion.

In the wooden *pailā* is kept a handful of seed-grains. If the family had rice cultivation in the preceding year, these seed-grains are taken from the *giri-bānāri* paddy or paddy of the last sheaves which were left over at one corner of a field and ceremonially reaped on a Friday evening.

Water of the jug in which the fish was kept overnight is sprinkled all over the house, and also on the seed-grains on the basket, the *gāṇḍū*, and the *pailā*. The head of the family sits before the stool (*gāṇḍū*) with his face to the east, feeds a white fowl with some *āruā* rice placed on the ground and makes an *āgōm* or vow, to Sing-bōngā, saying, "I make this vow to Thee, O Sing-bōngā; may grains grow in abundance and I shall sacrifice this (white fowl) to Thee at the time of threshing". The white fowl is then let off. A black fowl is now sacrificed (by cutting it at the neck) in the name of all the neighbouring villages (which are named), so that the evil eye of any resident of those villages may not fall on the crops. A few drops of blood of the sacrificed fowl is sprinkled on the seed-grains, the *pailā* and *gāṇḍū* and the basket. The seed-grains are then

taken to the field and sown. The fish is now taken back to the river, stream or pool from which it was brought. It is believed that as the fish will grow so will the paddy-plants or other cereals on his field.

2. When pumpkin gourds begin to rot on their stems, the owner of the plant plucks one of the rotting pumpkins on a Sunday morning, cuts it into a few large slices, daubs the slices with ashes, and lays out at the junction of two pathways each of these slices on a leaf taken from the plant on which the pumpkin grew. This is called the *bānā-sānā* ceremony of pumpkins. It is believed that after this, the pumpkins will not rot for fear of being hacked into pieces and treated like the other pumpkin.

(V) Taboos of Women.

1. A Bīrhōr woman, like a Sāntāl woman, must abstain from eating such fruits of the *tārōp* (*Buchania latifolia*) or the *tīrel* (*Diospyros tomentosa*) tree as may grow together in one accrescent calix. If she does so, she will give birth to twins.

2. A woman must not comb her hair at sunset. Should she do so, her hair will fall on Sing-Bōngā's rice as that is the time when Sing-Bōngā (or God identified with the Sun) retires to eat.

3. A woman must never sit up on a yoke. Should she do so, the oxen or buffaloes will have swellings on their necks.

4. A pregnant Bīrhōr woman must not eat the head of the *chōr* fish. If she does so, her nose will bleed as also her private parts.

5. A pregnant woman must not eat *tiki lād* (or bread which is made of rice-flour enclosed within two leaves and boiled in water in an earthen vessel). Should she eat it, her child's ears will get wrinkled.

6. A pregnant woman must not step over a *sagar* or block-wheel cart. Should she do so, her child's throat will emit a creaking sound like that of a *sagar*.

7. A pregnant woman must not step over a dog. Should she do so, her child's belly will make a rumbling noise like that of a dog.

8. Neither a pregnant woman nor her husband must go to a pool or stream where people are catching fish by poisoning the water (which is done by squeezing the juice of the *gōnrkā* or the *Sūkrīputi* plant into the water). Should either of the two go there, no fish will be caught, as their 'shadow' (*chhāir*) is believed to be 'heavy'. It will cause no harm, however, if either of them goes to a pool, tank or stream where fish is being caught by the ordinary processes of netting or trapping or by baling out the water and seizing fish by the hand.

9. A pregnant woman must not eat the flesh of deer or hare or porcupine or other animals with hair on their body, nor even look at them when brought home by a hunting party. Should she do so, she will give birth to children with hairy bodies.

10. A woman must not step over a hunting net or hunting stick or club. Should she do so there will be no luck in the chase. The stick or club in such a case is thrown away.

(VI) Taboos of Youth and Children.

1. Bīrhōṛ youths and maidens must not eat the flesh of the *suiā* bird. Should they do so, their marriage proposals will fail.

2. Youths and maidens must abstain from eating the brain of an animal, as that will bring on premature grey hairs.

3. A bachelor must not plant a plantain tree. For should such a tree fall down with its head to the south, the planter will die.

4. The turmeric-dyed cloth of a Bīrhōṛ bride or bridegroom while being boiled previous to washing it, should not be allowed to stick to the pot and get burnt; for if that happens, the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, will get fever.

5. A Birhōṛ youth must not eat an egg which emits a sound when shaken. Should he do so he will get pus in his ears.

6. A Birhōṛ youth or maiden must not plaster a wattle door. Should they do so, they will be childless.

7. As soon as a child is born, it is first given a sip of goat's milk, if available, and then only is mother's milk given. But after that goat's milk is taboo to children, as it is believed to make children quarrelsome.

(VII) General Taboos.

1. A Birhōṛ must not either sit or spit on the hearth. Should he do either, he will be afflicted with sores in the mouth.

2. A Birhōṛ must not sit on a winnowing-fan. Should he do so, his maternal uncles will be afflicted with starvation.

3. A Birhōṛ must not point with the finger at the rainbow (*bāṇḍā lālā*). Should he do so, the offending finger will get maimed or curved.

4. A Birhōṛ must not point with the finger at the fruit of the *kōhṇḍa cucurbitta moschata*, *Duchesne*) or the *kōlōt (curbita lagenaria)* varieties of the pumpkin when it is forming. Should he do so the fruit will rot on the plant.

5. If anyone looks at a Birhōṛ with one eye in the morning, the latter will get no game or *chōp* that day. To prevent this, the former is made to look at him again with both eyes open.

6. A man suffering from opthalmia must not comb his hair. If he does so, the pain in the eyes will increase.

7. A Jāghi Birhōṛ will not bathe in rain water which has just fallen. By doing so, he will get opthalmia.

8. It is considered unlucky to kill a lizard of the species known to the Birhōṛ as *Chātu bōrhōni* (lit, guard of the cooking-pot).

9. When a Birhōṛ sells his goat, sheep or ox, he must pull out a few hairs from the waist of the animal. Should he omit to do so, the luck of his family will depart with the animal.

10. A Birhōṛ whose parents are living must not cut off the top-knot on his head, as that is considered equivalent to cutting down his parents.

11. A Birhōṛ must not look back when leaving home to join a hunting expedition, as that will bring him ill-luck in the chase.

12. A Birhōṛ must not sit on the threshold of his hut as it will bring ill-luck to the house. When a man sits on the door-way, people say "so-and-so is sitting on his mother's chest".

13. On the first day that a Jāghi Birhōṛ begins to reap his rice-harvest, if any, he must not give away a sheaf from the field. Should he do so his luck will leave him with the sheaf.

14. A Birhōṛ must not sit on the central part of a yoke. Should he do so, the necks of the oxen or buffaloes will chafe and swell.

15. A marriage or other auspicious ceremony must not be celebrated on a Sunday or a Tuesday or a Saturday, as those days of the week are considered unlucky by the Birhōṛ.

16. Although a Birhōṛ may give cotton-seed to others, yet it portends ill-luck to the giver if it is taken away in a cloth.

17. A Birhōṛ must not give fire from his hearth to another person when rice is being cooked, but he may give it when only water is being boiled but rice has not yet been put into it.

18. No Birhōṛ must micturate into fire. Should he do so, he will have swelling in his private parts.

19. A Birhōṛ must not throw used leaf-plates into fire. Should he do so, he will have ill-luck.

20. A Birhōṛ must not spit on the hearth. Should he do so, he will suffer from sores in the mouth.

21. A Birhōṛ who celebrates the *Karam* festival must not use the timber of the *Karam* (*adina cordifolia*) tree as fuel or for building or repairing a hut.

22. A Birhōṛ who celebrates the *Jitia* festival must similarly abstain from using the wood of the *jitia pipar* tree. Otherwise he will have ill-luck.

23. A Birhōṛ must not burn the leaves or the wood of the *sōsō* (*Semicarpus anacardium*) tree until the *jōm-nawā* (or

ceremonial eating of the new crop) has been celebrated. Should he do so, he will suffer from sores in his body.

24. A Birhōr must not burn the wood of the *lōā* (*Ficus glomerata*) tree. Should he do so, his hut will be infested by bugs.

25. A Birhōr family must not leave any metal utensils outside their *kūmbā* or hut. Should they do so, a thunderbolt will strike the hut.

(VIII) Omens from Animals, Birds, Reptiles and Insects.

1. If two hens are seen touching or pecking each other by their beaks, two female relatives are expected as guests; if two cocks do so, two male relatives are expected; if a cock and a hen do so, a male and a female relative are expected; and if two or more pairs are found doing so, as many male and female relatives are expected.

2. If hens are seen spreading out their wings in the sun, rain is expected.

3. If a jackal of the *Fekar* kind (which emits a peculiarly hoarse sound) is heard calling near a Birhōr *tāṇḍā*, it is apprehended that some one in the *tāṇḍā* will fall ill or die.

4. If a jackal is heard calling when it is raining, it is believed that the rain will be followed by hot sunshine; and if it is heard calling during sunshine a storm is apprehended.

5. The coughing of cows and oxen portends rain.

6. The croaking of a raven near a Birhōr's hut is believed to indicate that the news of the death of some near relative is about to come; and the direction to which the tail of the croaking raven points is believed to be the direction in which the death has occurred.

7. If a vulture alights on the roof of a Birhōr's hut, fever or death in the hut is apprehended.

8. It is considered unlucky if a goat enters the threshing-floor of a Jāghi Birhōr. To counteract the evil, one of the ears of the goat is cut off by the owner of the threshing-floor and handed over to the owner of the goat.

9. If the *gitil* insect burrows into the hole of a Birhōr's foot, seasonable rain is expected.

(IX) Miscellaneous Omens.

1. When a meteor or shooting star (*chāṇḍī*) is seen, all Birhōrs spit, in its direction, saying, "There goes Chandi! *Thoo, thoo, thoo!*" This is believed to ward off any calamity that might otherwise follow in the wake of the meteor.

2. In a year in which the *kūdu-ipil* or Evening Star is more in evidence than the *Bhurka* or the Morning Star, famine is apprehended.

3. If before the umbilical cord of a new-born child is cut, the child sneezes, it is believed that in the event of this child, in later life, sneezing at the commencement of any undertaking or hunting or other expedition, the undertaking or expedition will have ill-luck, whether he be a party or not to the undertaking or expedition.

4. If the milk of a pregnant woman escapes, it is apprehended that her child will be either still-born or die shortly after birth, for such milk is regarded as the tears of the child in the womb.

(X) Dreams.

1. If a Birhōr dreams of a man wearing a black coat, he will meet a bear; and if he dreams of a bear, he will meet a man with a black coat on.

2. If a Birhōr dreams of honey he will tread on human excrement; and if he dreams of human excrement he will get honey.

3. If a Birhōr dreams of a cart, a corpse will before long be carried out.

4. If a Birhōr dreams of a house being built, it portends that there will be a death in the family or settlement (*tāṇḍa*). [It should be remembered that, as stated in a previous article, on the occurrence of a death, the Birhōr has to construct a miniature leaf-shed which is burnt with a view to tempt the departing shade to return to his old home.]

5. If a Birhōr dreams of another person's house on fire, it portends that either his own house will burn or that he or some other member of his family will die; but if he dreams of his own house on fire, some other man's house will get burnt and the dreamer will have good luck.

6. If a Birhōr dreams of money or wealth, it portends that he will soon have to pick up the burnt bones of some relative (i.e., some relative will die).

7. If a Birhōr dreams of a snake, he expects a visit from some relative.

8. If a Birhōr dreams of a flowing river, he expects to have plenty of drink at the house of a relative or friend.

9. If a Birhōr dreams of singing, it forebodes ill-luck and he will have quarrels with his fellows or other trouble which will make him weep. If, on the contrary, he dreams of weeping, he will before long have cause to rejoice.

V.—A Note on Ganjpa : an Ancient Game played with Circular Cards.

Contributed by H. H. the Maharaja of Sonapur.

This game, which is in vogue in the district of Sambalpur and in the neighbouring Feudatory States of Orissa, is very ancient, though it may not be as old as Mah-Jongg, the famous royal game of China. The cards, which are small and circular in shape, are made of rag and are painted and glazed by the Maharana (painter) caste of the Sonapur State. The colours are prepared by the artists themselves, both vegetable and metallic dyes being used, by a very lengthy process of indigenous origin. Two sets of these cards, it will be remembered, were exhibited at the Society's last Annual Meeting.

The pack (thoka) consists of 144 circular cards, divided into twelve suits—six belonging to Ram's division and six to Ravan's.

* Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri has described a somewhat similar set of circular cards. Cf. JASB, 1895, Part I, p. 284. See also Proceedings, for January 1896. He says: "Tradition has it that the Malla Kings of Vishnupur invented this game when they were in the zenith of their glory. The Malla Rajas have left behind them an era of which 1201 corresponds to 1895 A. D., and I fully believe that the game was invented about eleven or twelve hundred years before the present date." As in the Sonapur game described above, the King of the Ram suit (the emblem of which in both sets of cards is the arrow) is the trump card. The player who holds this card leads, and along with it he is entitled to lead a low card of any suit, which ranks ("such is the power of Ram", says Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri) as the next highest card in the pack. There are 120 cards in the Vishnupur set, 12 cards in each suit, as compared with 144 cards in the Sonapur set. In each case the suits are divided into two divisions, in one of which the ace is high and the ten low, and in the other the ten high and the ace low. In the Vishnupur set the suits are named after the ten incarnations of Vishnu, the four-handed incarnations belonging to one division and the two-handed to the other. The Vishnupur game, as described by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, is of a very much simpler type than *Hamrang*, the Sonapur game; and there are five players instead of four.

Each suit has two court-cards (King and Minister) and ten counters, ace to ten. The King is the highest, and the Minister the next highest card in all suits; but in the suits in Ram's division the ace ranks next to the Minister and the ten is the lowest card, while in the suits in Ravan's division the ten ranks next to the Minister and the ace is the lowest card. Kings are depicted seated on a chariot (beneath a canopy); Ministers are fashionably dressed and are mounted on a horse, an elephant, or in some sets (an amusing modernisation) on a bicycle. The counters bear 'pips' reproducing the emblems enumerated below. The name, colour and emblem of each suit are as follows :—

Name.		Colour.	Emblem.
Ram's division.	Ram	Red	Arrow.
	Lakhshman	Deep yellow	Quiver.
	Monkey	Nigger brown	Monkey.
	Bear	White	Bear.
	Hill	Navy blue	Hill.
	Shield	Green	Shield and sword.
Ravan's division	Ravan	Dark red	Club.
	Koont	Brown	Koont (double-edged short spear)
	Noose	Black	Noose.
	Dagger	Pink	Dagger.
	Pike	Blue	Pike.
	Sword	Pale yellow	Sword.

These *Ganjpa* cards are used for playing various games, the game most commonly played being called *Humrang*. This is played by four persons, all opponents. The players, first of all, draw for seats. He who draws an ace, five, or nine, sits north; a two, six, or ten, east; a three, seven, or Minister, south; and a four, eight, or King, west. The cards are then shuffled by

each of the players in turn, and placed face downwards on the table. Each player draws a card; and the right of cutting before the deal goes to the player who draws a card corresponding to the seat he occupies, the player who sits on his right being the dealer. The cards are then shuffled once more by all the players, the player sitting opposite the dealer shuffling last and offering the pack to be cut. The pack is then cut by the player on the dealer's left. The cards are dealt four at a time, beginning with the player on the dealer's right. Each player has 36 cards, which he arranges in suits (in the order enumerated above), placing those in Ram's division on the right and those in Ravan's on the left.

There is no trump suit; but the player who holds the King of the *m* suit leads; and he must lead that card, along with which has the right of leading any low card of any suit—which, being an attendant of Ram, ranks higher than any other card in the pack. The leader thus wins the tricks, the other players (beginning with the player on the leader's right) discarding *t* cards each. When discarding, a player is not obliged to follow suit; but when a card is led, the trick can only be won by a card of the same suit.

The highest card of any suit remaining to be played at any stage of the game is locally known as a *Hukm*, and when a lower card of any suit is led, the player who holds the *Hukm* of that suit must play it; otherwise his *Hukm* loses its value, and ranks as the lowest card of that suit remaining to be played. The other players may discard any card they like. When a card (for example, the four) is led, and the player who holds the *Hukm* of that suit also holds the next lowest to the card led (i.e., the three or the five as the case may be), he is allowed to play them together winning two tricks. The player on the dealer's left enjoys a special right (known as *Ham*), which is that if he holds the *Hukm* and any card of that suit ranking higher than the card led, he is allowed to play them together, winning two tricks.

To return to the original lead, after the King of the Ram suit and its attendant card have been played, the leader searches his hand to see whether he holds the *Hukm* of any suit (at this earliest stage of the game, the King) in combination with a sequence of two or more cards of the same suit (e.g., King, Minister, ace, etc., of the suits in Ram's division, or King, Minister, ten, etc., of the suits in Ravan's). If he does, he must play out at once and together all but the lowest card of the sequence, winning an equivalent number of tricks. If he fails to do so, all the cards he should have played out in this way lose value, and rank below all other cards of that suit remaining to be played. If the leader holds no such sequence, headed by a *Hukm*, he does not at this stage of the game lead a *Hukm*. His aim is to establish as many *Hukms* in his hand as possible. Therefore, if he has the Minister (or, at later stages of the game, any card ranking next to the *Hukm*), he leads a small card of that suit, which draws the King and makes his Minister a *Hukm*; and though he loses this trick, he does not lose the lead. Similarly, if he has the King and ace (or 10), by playing a low card of that suit he can draw the Minister, and thus establish a second *Hukm* of that suit beside the King; and similarly with cards of lower denominations at later stages of the game. This lead is known locally as *tarua*. If he has no Minister (or other card by playing which he can establish a *Hukm*), he must play out all the *Hukms*, or winning cards, he holds. This he is obliged to do also, if he is detected making a wrong lead—i.e., a lead which will not result in his establishing a *Hukm*; which means that he forfeits the right to play a low card in order to make a higher card of the same suit in his hand a *Hukm*. Finally, when he has played out all his *Hukms*, he shuffles his hand and invites the players on his right to draw a card. This card he has to lead; and the lead then passes to the winner of this trick, who proceeds thereafter in precisely the same way as the original leader. When his *Hukms* are exhausted (including the *Hukm* he has

been able to establish in the manner indicated above), the lead passes again, and so on.

The game continues in this fashion until each player has 12 cards left. At this stage the player who happens to be leading is no longer allowed to establish *Hukms*, but must play out all the *Hukms* in his hand. When these have been played, the leader offers his cards to the player opposite to shuffle, and the player on his right names a suit. If the leader possesses no card of the suit named, the right to draw a card passes to the next player on the right. The card which is drawn must be led, and so the game proceeds until each player holds only two cards. The player then leading plays both these cards together; and those who hold the *Hukms* win the tricks. There are 36 tricks. A player scores one point for every trick above nine, and loses a point for every trick short of nine, the stakes being one to four annas as a rule. In subsequent games (or in the event of a misdeal) the deal passes to the right, the player who dealt last cutting the pack. The game is not played in rubbers.

Another game commonly played with *Ganjpa* cards is *Ekrang*. In this game the suit, of which the King is the first card to be led, is settled by the cut before the deal. The exposed card, being at the bottom of the pack, falls eventually to the dealer. The King in question is not necessarily led by the player to whom it is dealt, since in *Ekrang* the players sitting opposite each other (their positions being decided as in *Hamrang*) are partners. The partners first decide which of them is to lead, without however revealing their hands to each other; and if necessary, the player who holds the King, which is the trump card, hands it over to his partner in exchange for a lower card of the same suit.

The partners who secure the lead, keep it throughout, and have to win all the 36 tricks in order to win the game. The player leading first must play out all his *Hukms*, beginning with the King, which is the trump card, and as the King's attendant a low card of any suit which ranks as the next highest card in the pack, as in *Hamrang*. In this game all the

other players must follow suit. If a player cannot follow suit (and this applies to partners and opponents alike), he is obliged to discard the *Hukm* of some other suit. Failing a *Hukm*, he must discard his highest card of any suit named by the leader ; or if he has no card of that suit then any card he chooses. When the original leader's *Hukms* are exhausted, his partner calls on him to lead a card of a suit of which he holds the *Hukm*. The lead then passes to his partner, who must proceed to play out all his *Hukms* ; and so on, until the end of the game.

If a player fails to follow suit when he is able to, or fails to discard a *Hukm* when required to (playing a lower card instead), or when holding a *Hukm* fails (when the lead is in his hand) to play it out, he and his partner are disqualified and lose the game. The penalty must be claimed before the last trick has been collected.

VI.—Lassen's History of Indian Commerce (Vikramaditya to the Later Guptas).

Translated by K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon), and
A. Banerji-Sastri, Ph.D. (Oxon).

Translators' Introduction.

THE subject of Indian commercial history has become a popular study. The translators, having noticed that the researches of Lassen, the first writer on the subject, were not, as a rule, availed of by Indian writers and students, felt the necessity of giving an English translation of Lassen's chapters on the subject. In the translation, they have endeavoured to adhere to the original more than to the elegance of language which has to be sacrificed more or less in almost every rendering of a scientific nature.

Since Lassen's time, Indology has progressed much, but Lassen can never be superseded. Lassen is classical in the field of Indian history. Without Lassen, for generations after, no one could have easily conceived of producing an Indian History of Hindu times dealing with political, social and intellectual development. The wonder is that no other author, except Duncker on a much smaller scale, has since attempted a comprehensive work like Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*. The third volume of this work "which forms one of the greatest monuments of untiring industry and critical scholarship" as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XVI—236) has rightly put it, was published in 1858. Its first chapter deals with the history of commerce (*Geschichte des Handels die Zeit Von Vikramāditya bis auf die spätern Gupta*) from the time of Vikramāditya up to that of the later Guptas. Ours is a translation of that chapter. It might be useful to prepare a Bibliography bringing the

subject up to date and the translator's hope that it would be done later.

Abbreviations used in the Translators' Notes.

Schoff.—The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, translated from the Greek and annotated by Wilfred H. Schoff, A.M., Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

Gerini.—Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia by Colonel G. E. Gerini, M.R.A.S., Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. I., London Royal Asiatic Society and Royal Geographical Society, 1909.

[From next page begins the Translation.—Trs.]

History of Commerce.

Review of the Contents.

Introductory remarks.—Reason for the growth of maritime commerce from the Red Sea to India. Its extension to further India and as far as *Kattigara* or Canton. Indian colonies in Further India, in the Indian Archipelago and in south-eastern China.

I.—The wares. The sources. Articles of export.—From the mineral kingdom. The precious stones. The diamonds and pearls. The wares from the vegetable kingdom, cotton, silk, sugar, dying stuffs. Spices, perfumes. Wares from the animal kingdom, ivory. *Pinicum*, Tortoises. *Seric* skins, *Murrah* vessels.

Articles of import. Metals, silver vessels, money. *Stibium* coral, precious stones. Frankincense, wine. Linen clothes and garments. Musical instruments.

Distribution of the wares among the ports. *Barygaza* the chief emporium of India.

II.—The commercial nations. Fate of commerce.—The growth of maritime commerce between the Indian countries and the Roman empire. Participation of Greek and Roman merchants therein. Of Indian merchants. Their distant voyages. The Indian embassies. That to the emperor *Augustus*. That to the emperor *Claudius*. That to the emperor *Antonius Pius* *Bardanes*. That to the emperor *Julianus*. The practice of navigation. India, the centre of the commerce of the world, the terminus whereof was Rome in the W. and Canton in the E. Slight participation of the *Nabateans* in Indian commerce. Independent participation of the Indians in the commerce of Alexandria in the Mediterranean sea.—*Practice of land-commerce.* Its ramifications. Firstly, across Bactria through Media, Assyria and Asia Minor towards the western countries. Secondly, across Bactria on the Oxus over the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus and to the Black Sea, *Sinope* a chief seat of this branch.—*The influences of commerce on the circumstances of the Romans and of the Indians.* No deep after-effects of this commerce. By the wares

exported from India it ministered considerably to the love of pomp, to the voluptuous and expensive propensities of the Romans, and thereby greatly contributed to the deterioration of Roman morals. Secondly, Indian commerce enriched Roman merchants. Influence of the commerce with the Roman empire upon the Indians. No action upon the views, circumstances and customs of the Indians. Much cash brought to India from the Roman empire. India but little enriched by this commerce. By this commerce the Indians obtained the division of the year into weeks, and the names of the days from the seven planets. The third ramification of commerce by land. Firstly, across Bactria with the *Serd*. Secondly across Sikkim to China.

Second Period—The time from Vikramāditya to the later Guptas.

Introductory Remarks.

In the period between Vikramāditya and the fall of the later Gupta dynasty, three circumstances co-operated in greatly promoting maritime commerce from the Red Sea to India, and in carrying it to the highest point it ever attained in antiquity. The first circumstance was the extensive dominion and great opulence of the Romans, who became, by the possession thereof, addicted to voluptuousness and to love of pomp. Of all countries, India furnished them with the most varied means to satisfy these inclinations. The second favourable opportunity was the conquest of Egypt which became in the year 31 B.C., a Roman province; thereby the Romans came into possession of Alexandria, which city had, in spite of its position so favourable to commerce, not yet quite fulfilled the purpose of its great founder. The efforts of the Ptolemies to encourage this branch of commerce by establishing ports on the east coast of Egypt and by building roads to put them in communication with the Nile-valley, have already been noticed, but at the same time the remark has been made, that during the dominion of the Lagides and even at the time of Strabo, only few merchants ventured to undertake commercial voyages from Egypt to India.¹ Only as late as the time of the Roman

¹ Vol. II, P.p. 538, 539 and note 2.

emperors, Alexandria excelled her rivals and acquired the almost exclusive possession of Indian maritime commerce with the countries on the Mediterranean Sea. This pre-eminence of Alexandria was materially promoted by the frequent wars of the Romans and the Parthians since the unfortunate attack of M. Licinius Crassus upon the Parthians in the year 53 B.C. and by the deeply-rooted enmity that subsisted among these two nations; the Arsakides were masters of the inlets to the Euphrates from India, and though already the usual wars between them and the Roman emperors in the countries situated west of the Euphrates, must have disturbed commerce by land, fresh interruptions were added, because (no doubt from hatred against the Romans) the Parthian Kings endeavoured to exclude the Greek and Roman merchants from the commerce with India. This must have given an impulse to the commerce by sea, from the Red Sea to India. It must not, however, be overlooked, that not long after the death of Mithridates the Great, which took place about 136 B.C., the regions about the Oxus ceased to obey the Arsakides¹ and they were accordingly not able to put any obstacles into the way of transporting Indian goods along the Oxus, across the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus and Kolchis to the Black Sea. That such a transport really took place during the time of Pompey and of the emperor Augustus, is certain from the testimonies of Strabo and of the older Pliny.² Further it is to be remarked that during the time of the Roman emperors a branch of the Arsakides reigned in Armenia, whose members frequently obtained help from the Roman emperors; and in general the possession of the Armenian Throne formed the cause of quarrels between the Roman emperors and the sovereigns of the great Parthian empire. Accordingly, the Armenian Arsakides probably did not oppose the transit of Indian wares through their country. With this agrees the fact that the Aorses who dwelt north of the Aral Sea and of the Caspian Sea, in the north of the

¹ Vol. II, p. 321 and p. 265 foll.

² Vol. II, p. 279 and p. 531, Note 2.

Caucasus and in the east of the sea of Asow, brought Indian wares from Media and Armenia, and carried them to the peoples living near the Black sea.¹ As it is narrated to the praise of the Roman generals that during their wars they kept an eye also on the promotion of commerce,² we may presume that they acted in the same manner in their contests with the Armenian Arsakides. The growth of maritime commerce between the ports of the Red Sea and India, was thirdly, yet specially, promoted by the discovery of the south-west monsoon which the navigator *Hippalos* had made, or rather by the re-discovery of it, because there can not really be any doubt that the Phœnicians who were so well acquainted with navigation, knew this and utilised their knowledge in their Ophir-voyages.³ Accordingly we may presume that during the long time whilst the Phœnicians had not pursued maritime commerce on the Red Sea, this knowledge was lost. *Hippalos* observed the position of the ports in Arabia Felix and the shape of the coasts of that sea, and was the first to steer across the high seas, instead of navigating along the coasts like the more ancient navigators. In his honour the south-west monsoon was named *Hippalosr*.⁴ As the author of the *Periplus*, who has preserved us this information, and who speaks of the discovery of *Hippalos* as already known and not a fresh one, we may put it back as far as the beginning of the Christian era. The example of *Hippalos*, was, until the time of the Alexandrian *Periegete* followed by the navigators of the Indian ocean. Some of them steered from Kane⁵ a town on the south coast of Arabia, in the country of the Chatramotites or Adramites, the present Hadramant⁶ immediately out into

¹ Vol. II, p. 619.

[Schoff, 1912, pp. 6, 8, 13, 45, 53, 212, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233.—Trs.]

² Plinius H. N. XXVI 9. 1.

³ See II. p. 59. [Cf. Schoff. 97, 151, 160, 161, 175, 260.—Trs.]

⁴ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 32, and on the time of its composition II, p. 538. That Libanoto's means the south-west monsoon was shown by Vincent in *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* I, pp. 49 and 123.

⁵ [p. 116.—Trs.]

⁶ On the position of Kane cf. II, pp. 583.

the high sea, and others from a not more closely designated port in the opposite Cinnamomifera Regis of the ancients ; it must be looked for in the vicinity of the present Cape Gardafui.¹ Some of these merchant ships proceeded to *Scythia* or more accurately for the port *Patala* belonging to Indoscythia ; others to the well-known port of *Barygaza*² in India ; and lastly others to the more southern coast—country *Limyrice*.³ They remained not longer than three days in the ports, from which they began their voyage across the sea, and spent their remaining time on the voyage, during which they sailed past the wide bay formed the south-east coast of Arabia and the Indus-mouths. On the adventures of the voyages from the Red Sea Pliny gives us some closer information.⁴ *Nearchos* had sailed with his fleet along the shore from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Tigris and Euphrates. Also afterwards on their voyage from the promontory of *Syagros*⁵ on the south-east coast of Arabia to *Patala*, the navigators did not leave the coast, although they made use of the south-west monsoon. Afterwards a nearer and safer course was discovered, by sailing from the just mentioned Arabian promontory to the Indian port *Zizerns*.⁶ On the state of the commerce at that time between the Romans and the Indians, Pliny expresses himself in his succinct style as follows : “This manner of sailing was continued long until the merchant discovered facilities, and India was brought nearer by the love of gain. Every year ships departed on which

¹ According to the *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* pp. 7, 8, 17 and 23.

[² Schoff. p. 298.—Trs.]

[³ *Ibid.* p. 205.—Trs.]

⁴ VI, 26, 5 foll. where also mentions that the wind Favonius was there called Hippias ; by this name in the present case the south-western monsoon must be understood.

⁵ This is probably the Ras Sherbedad of our times.

⁶ This port is, in the *Periplus* of the Red Sea called *Meli Zigera* ; cf. II page 540. It is now called *Zyghar* or more correctly *Gaighar* because according to a communication made to me by *Kigert* the first form contains the Portuguese pronunciation of the G. The present name must have originated *Gajagada*, i.e., victory protection. According to Walter Hamilton's *A. Descrip. of Hindustan* II, p. 214, *Gajagada* is situated in 17°33' N. Lat.

cohorts of archers were embarked, to defend them against the attack of the pirates who molested the navigators greatly. It is worth mentioning that in no year India swallows less than five hundred times hundred thousand sesterii from this empire, and sends back goods for them, which are sold among us with a hundred fold gain.¹ At that time the merchant-ships visited especially *Muziris*² or Mangalor. On the now so much accelerated voyages to India and their termini I have already on another occasion communicated the data of the Roman author.³

The two consequences of the frequent repetitions and accelerations of their voyages to India must have been that the Greek-Roman merchants extended their commercial undertakings further than before, and that they visited also the Coromandel coast. This will have been the case only after the presence of the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea in India*, because we had not gone further than Cape Comorin, whereas Pliny on the other hand must have had before his eyes at least the statement of an India-man, in which the distances from the town *Perimula* on the island *Manar*⁴ till the mouths of the Ganges were given in Roman paces.⁵

Pliny seems to have no acquaintance at all with the eastern Indian peninsula, whence it follows, that at the time when he composed his rich and valuable work, the Greek and Roman merchants had not yet entered into commercial relations with this very distant country; on the other hand the unusual familiarity (of this diligent collection) with the natural products of anterior India shows, that it had in his time already been

¹ As the *Sestertius* is somewhat more in value than $1\frac{1}{2}$ silver-groschen 50,000,000 sesterii make in a round sum 2,650,000 Thalers.

² Schoff pp. 44, 178, 203, 204, 205, 208, 212, 233. Gerini, 670 N. 1.—Trs.]

³ Cf. II, p. 590.

⁴ Schoff. pp. 143, 156, 210, 222, 230, 231, 241.—Trs.]

⁵ Cf. II, p. 541, and *Pliny* VI. 23, 2. Afterwards in the *History of the Greek-Roman Knowledge of India* I shall show, that this passage cannot have been drawn from the writing of *Megasthenes*, and I here observe once for all, that I shall afterwards state the grounds for my determinations of the towns mentioned in this section.

visited by numerous Greek and Roman merchants, from whose partly oral and partly written communications he culled his information. Although the geography of *Ptolemy* furnishes but slight direct evidence for an acquaintance with the Greek-Roman commerce of India, it nevertheless contains particular data which demonstrate, that in the interval between their composition and that of the natural history of Pliny, commerce between the Roman empire and the Indian countries had considerably developed and enlarged itself. Firstly we learn from the geography of Ptolemy, that he had at his service journals of travellers wherein the distances of the places were marked down, not only from the promontory *Kory*, the present Kalymeer, till the mouths of the Ganges, but also from them to the golden peninsula of Malacca and thence to *Kattigara* or Canton, in stadiums.¹ As far as that a certain *Alexandros* had gone. Now the merchant-navigators sailed obliquely across the gulf of Bengal either from Kalinga Patana or Kikakola to *Chryse*,² which answers nearly to the present Pegu, or from Palara, the present Naupara, south of the Mahanada to *Sada* or Thwai-dwai. The frequent travels of the Greek and Roman merchants appear secondly from the rich catalogue of towns which Ptolemy enumerates in anterior India. If it is less rich in the towns of Further India, the reason is because Further India was more seldom visited by merchants from the Roman Empire than anterior India, and also because of the less civilized state of the peninsula.

A third ground for the supposition of a frequent presence of Greek merchants in India exists in the Hellenic names which are in the geography of Ptolemy attributed to Indian towns and must have originated from Greek merchants. *Naustathmos* correctly designates a port on the coast of the island *Bete* on the west point of the peninsula of Guzerat. *Theophila* is the Greek name of a town, which is now called *Surdhaur* and is situated in the interior of this peninsula, nearly in its centre; it shows

¹ Ptol. I, B, 11. and 14, 1. foll; then VII, 1, 15.

[² Schoff. 45, 46, 47, 48, 227, 246, 259-261. — Gerini — page 830. — Trs.]

that it must have been a town frequently visited by the Hellenes. Its Sanskrit name is Surādara, *i.e.*, worship of the gods. *Byzantion* where at present *Vijayadurga* on the Malabar coast is situated, must have been a town founded by merchants from one of the same name in *Propontis*. Such names occur also in Further India. *Triglyphon* is the Greek name of the town Arakan which was in Sanskrit called Vaisāli.¹ Most of the examples of this kind occur in Taprobane.² They are, with only two exceptions, Hellenic translations of the indigenous names; thereby they just demonstrate that numerous Greek merchants used to sojourn in this island.

If I assume that the extension of the commercial undertakings of the western merchants and their travels to Further India and to the Indian Archipelago in order to practice commerce there, were called into being by frequent intercourse with the Indians, and that therefore a material participation in the enlarged acquaintance with Further India and the Indian Archipelago recorded in Ptolemy's geography, must be attributed to the Indians, I support this assertion by the following grounds. Afterwards I shall demonstrate that the island of the Indian archipelago visited and described by Tambulos is *Bali*; but as his narrative has been used by Diodoros who wrote his history in the last third of the first century B.C., and some time must have elapsed before the Indians of the western peninsula, settled in Java, could transfer their laws and customs to the adjoining Bali, therefore the immigrations of those Indians must have taken place at the latest about the middle of the first Pre-Christian century, rather somewhat earlier. The propagation of the inhabitants of anterior India to these parts of south-eastern Asia is shown by the following names contained in the geography of Alexandrinos: *Kokkonagara* was situated in the peninsula of Malakka in the interior country at present called Kaija; *Perimula* on the eastern coast thereof, where at present the Jantalem is situated, must on account of the same

¹ Cf. II, p. 1033.

² [Schoff, p. 47.—Gerini, pp. 422, 453, 504, Note 3, 646, 651.—Trs.]

have been a foundation of the inhabitants of a town of the same name on the island Manaar on the north coast of Ceylon. *Sinda*, on the lower Menam river in Siam, was on the site of the present capital of this contry and belonged to the *Sindai* a nation of those parts, who a pear on account of their name to have been immigrants from anterior India ; the town *Aganagara*, i.e., town of the mountains or of the trees, where *Kang-Rat* or *Hulian* in south-western Kamboja exists at present, can, on account of its Sanskrit name, have been a town established only by Indians. To these names yet the following is to be added. The three islands situated on the east coast of Sumatra which are at present called Polo-Rapat, Pulo-Pangor and Rantau, are by the Alexandrian geographer called Sindai, and must have received this name from Indians, who had settled on those Islands inhabited by anthropophagi.

If the preceding names testify to the propagation of the Indians to Further India and to the Indian archipelago, two others lead us to the undeniable suspicion that Brahmans had settled in south-eastern China. These are called *Bramma*, *Ambastes* and *Ambastai*.¹ The first name designates a town the position of which answers to that of the present *Se-min fu* ; the second to the river Ngan-nan-Kiang to the south of Canton. The town can have been once settled and inhabited by Brahmans. The second occurs again in two other passages ; firstly in the form *Ambatai* in the country of the Paropanisades ; secondly in the form *Ambastai* in the upper valley of the Tapti and the adjoining mountains.² Both these forms answer to the Sanskrit *Ambastha*, by which name in the Epics a great nation fighting with clubs, but in the code of laws a mixed caste, is meant³ But as a portion of these widely spread aborigines of anterior India can not be supposed to have existed also in distant south-eastern China nothing else remains but to assume that the Brahmans of these parts had applied the indigenous name to

¹ Ptol. VII 3, 2.

² Ptol. VI, 8, 18, and VII, 1, 66. The position of these two peoples I shall afterwards accurately point out.

³ Cf. I, p. 820.

a barbarous tribe among the Chinese. That these priests living in a *Mlechcha* country maintained an intercourse with their own countrymen is quite natural ; and afterwards it will appear from the explanation of the narrative of *Iambulus* and of his journey that the sea-way from the mouths of the Ganges to Java and Bali was already known to, and used by, the Indians. Accordingly there exists no objection to the view that Indians undertook voyages to Siam, Kamboja and to south-eastern China. I think therefore that I may assert that the merchants from the Roman empire who visited the east coast of India after the time of Pliny, met among the inhabitants thereof an acquaintance with the voyages to Further India and to the Indian archipelago, and with some knowledge of these countries. They utilised the former, and brought the latter to their country, where they served Ptolemy as sources in the elaboration of his geography.

For the high-ways of commerce connecting the separate portions of India with each other, as well as for those by which it dealt with foreign countries, I may refer to my former treatment of this subject.¹ On the other hand, to the sea-ports mentioned at that time yet two must be added, which become prominent only in the period of time now engaging our attention ; then a former assertion must be preliminarily rectified. Of the two emporia the one is called *Simylla*, called by the Indians *Timylla*, and is the present Bassein, in the vicinity of Bombay.

The second port is Tamala and is no other than the Bassein situated in south-western Pegu. The rectification refers to the southernmost part of the Malabar coast, where it is more correct to distinguish the emporium Balita,² mentioned in the *Periplus* from the town *Balbala* situated on this coast, than to identify them.³ On account of its excellency the first port will be the present Kalikat or more correctly Kalikoda, the second Kranganor or Kudanganor.

¹ Cf. II, p. 520 foll.

² Schoff. pp. 46, 234, 235.—Trs.]

³ As I have done before according to Vincent's precedent; See II, p. 541;

Note 2.

I

Wares.

After these remarks I shall point out the wares said to have been imported into or exported from India during the period from 57 B.C. till 319 A.D. As far as the exchange of wares between the inhabitants of the separate parts of India is concerned, we have thereon but few data at our disposal the mention whereof would be useless, because it would give us only a very imperfect result; therefore only the general remarks stand in this place, that the interior commerce of India was probably subject only to slight oscillations, because it is founded on the different possessions of the gifts of nature in the separate parts of India; only in the products of industry, alterations may have taken place, accordingly as a country rejoiced in peace and tranquillity and its inhabitants could concentrate themselves undisturbed, to quiet pursuits, or was visited by wars, which hindered merchants and artists from devoting themselves unembarrassed to their occupations. These alterations however, escape our researches.

For the knowledge of the Indian articles of export the natural history of *Pliny* offers the richest source, because he mentions not only many wares brought from India to the capital of the Roman empire, but also describes some of them more accurately and indicates the use made of them by the Roman men and women who had become voluptuous at that time and considered articles brought from distant India as great luxuries. In some cases he also mentions the high prices of the Indian wares, but on the other hand only seldom mentions the goods imported into India from the western countries. The want is supplied by the small treatise of the Alexandrian merchant, which, as we know, had been used by *Pliny*, and partly perfects his data, as far as the articles exported from India are concerned. We are also indebted to this treatise alone for the information about the distribution of these goods among the separate emporia, and in a few cases also for the origin of the Indian goods. The statements of this anonymous *Periegete* are partly confirmed and

supplied by an ordinance of the emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* and of *Titus Commodus Antoninus* in the digests¹ which had been issued during their simultaneous reign in the years from 176 till 180 A.C. That ordinance says that no fault is to be found with the customs house officers if they do not inform the merchant during his transit, of the amount of the duties ; but that they must avoid cheating the merchant if he has indicated his goods.

In the following paragraph the articles subject to duty are enumerated. As the majority of the goods, the origin whereof is indicated, are Indian and besides only Arabian onyxes and Parthian and Babylonian skins are mentioned, this command will have to be referred to Alexandria, which was at that time the chief emporium of Indian commerce, especially, as that city was connected with Babylon by a commercial road.² The other data still existing on this subject in the writings of classical antiquity, are too unimportant and isolated to be pointed out here already ; accordingly they will be noticed only afterwards in their proper places.

In the following review I shall enumerate the wares not according to the emporia, but I shall, on account of greater clarity, arrange them according to the three kingdoms of nature to which they belong, and shall only at the conclusion point out the ports, from which they have been exported or to which they have been imported.³

To begin with the simplest articles, the Roman artisans in marble made use of Indian sand to polish the former after having burned the latter.⁴ A previously unknown purple colour

¹ XXXIX, IV, 5—7.

² Explanations of the wares mentioned in this ordinance occur in *O. Salmasii: Exercitationes Pliniana* which I shall quote according to the ed. of 1683, and in the well-known work of *Vincent II*, p. 386 foll.

³ I shall designate the wares mentioned in the digests by D, and those in the *Periplus* by P, and I shall indicate the goods named by Pliny according to the passages where they occur. The places of the *Periplus* pertaining hereto occur on pp. 5, 9, 22, 24, 28, 29, 32 and p. 37.

⁴ *Plinius* XXXVI, 9, 2.

was obtained from the slime adhering to the bamboos in the rivers, which when rubbed up yielded a black, but when dissolved produced a wonderful purple colour.¹ The Indian crystals were preferred to all others.² Of the metals the subjects of the Roman Emperor received but one, the Indian iron, which was so much esteemed by foreigners on account of its excellence.³ The case was quite different with precious stones in which India is known to be very rich. The author of the *Periplus* stated that many kinds of splendid precious stones were imported to Nelkynda⁴ and were no doubt again exported.⁵ The author of the Roman Natural History informs us, that India bartered lead for its pearls and precious stones.⁶

To this diligent collector we are also indebted for remarkable data concerning the properties and uses of the Indian precious stones. Herein he made use of many writings now lost, the authors whereof, such as *Sotakos Sudires* and *Zenothemis* seem especially to have treated of precious stones.⁷ At all events from the many citations of passages from lost books treating on this subject it appears, that in the opinion of the Greek-Roman world of that time gems had attained high significance and were multifariously used. But as India furnished the Greeks and Romans with some of the most costly precious stones, it had materially contributed to their estimate and value.

¹ *Plinius* XXXV, 37, 27, 1 and 2. It is an error to say that this colour was produced by the pus and blood of the dragons and elephants. It is confounded with the colour named *dragon blood* (as mentioned in the ed. of Delafosse IX, p. 314, no. 7), which is obtained from the resin of the tree *Pterokarpus Draco Lin.*

² *Ibid.* XXXVII, 9, 1.

³ D.

⁴ [Schoff pp. 44, 208, 205; 207, 208, 211, 215, 233; 234, 236, 237; 254, 256, 273.—Trs.]

⁵ Page 32.

⁶ *Plinius* XXXIV, 48, 3.

⁷ *Pliny* XXXVI, 25, 3 and 38, XXXVII 11, 5; 23; 24, 1; 51, 1, and 32, 2; then X, 36, 4. XXXVI, 12, 1 and XXXVII, 35, 1; 56, 1; lastly XXXIV, 18, 7. XXXVII 11; 4; 24, 1 and 24, 1.

According to the *Periplus of the Red Sea* onyxes formed an important article of exportation among the other Indian precious stones, and according to Pliny the Indian onyxes were the most excellent after those found in Karmania.¹ *Zenothemis* had reported that in India there were several kinds of onyxes: fire-colored, black and variegated ones; they were surrounded by white veins like eyes; on some, veins occurred with oblique eyes. According to *Solanes*, another author, the Indian onyxes were fire-colored with one or several white surrounding circles, and were thereby distinguished from Indian sardonixes; according to him they were flesh coloured.

After the onyxes most appropriately the sardonixes come, because as among the Sardes the colour resembles that of the flesh, so that of the sardonixes resembles the colour of the flesh which shines through the scales. This was the distinguishing quality of the Indian sardonixes; all others which did not possess this transparent colour were called blind ones.² The chief place where sardonixes were found were the Rāgapippali-mountains between the lower Narmadā and the lower Tāptā, which were for this reason by Ptolemy called the *Sardoṇya* mountains, and a portion whereof was called by the ancient Indians Vaidūrya, which word probably designates a kind of onyx.³

That also hyacinths were exported from India appears from the *Periplus of the Red Sea* as well as from the Roman code of laws. It is true nothing is said in these writings of two other kinds of highly esteemed precious stones; but the exact acquaintance of the author of the Roman Natural History with them cannot be doubted. On account of their perfect, beautiful, purple colour, the Indian amethysts occupied the first rank, and dyers attained their highest aspirations when they succeeded in producing this colour on their dyed clothes.

Indian amethysts spread a mild light and did not dazzle the eyes by their sparkling like that of the carbuncles.⁴ According

¹ Pliny XXXVI, 12, 2, and XXXVII, 23, 1 and 2

² Pliny XXXVI 23, 2.

³ Cf. I, p. 573, note L.

⁴ Pliny XXXVII, 46, 1 and 2, and 41, 1.

to the opinion of the Roman author, a second kind of amethysts possessed less value because it approached the hyacinths. The Indians themselves must however have thought differently because they called their color *socon* and these precious stones themselves *saccondion*; if this color was weaker it was called *sapenas*. But as in Sanskrit *Sakuna* means a thing which is of happy presage, therefore *Sakunada*, as the name of this amethyst must have been in Sanskrit, must imply that the Indians attributed to this precious gem a force which brought happiness. *Saphena* means, 'provided with foam'; accordingly the word indicates the weak splendour of these precious stones. The second Indian gem the early propagation of which among the Romans, is, by the communication of Pliny on it, placed beyond all doubts, was the opal.¹ According to him India was the only mother of these noble stones, which were next in value to emeralds, although he could scarcely comprehend the ground for this estimate if opals were compared with the repute of other very costly precious stones. As an example of the extraordinary value which opals had attained in the eyes of the Romans, Pliny adduces the following fact: *Antonius* the Triumvir proscribed, on account of an opal the senator *Nonius*, the son of *Struma Nonius*. The latter took in spite of the Triumvir, of all his treasures this opal-ring away in his flight, and its value amounted according to the most probable computation to 2,600,000 sesterii or to about 104,800,000 dollars.² Probably this extraordinary value was by opulent Romans attributed to opals on account of their wonderful play of colours, of which the author of the Roman Natural History had himself been an ocular witness.³ He informs us at the same time that the Indians were not able to counterfeit any other gems as skilfully as opals. This they effected by the admixture of glass. The statement of the Roman author that India alone furnished these precious stones, is confirmed by the occurrence of real and of semi-opals in

¹ Pliny XXXVII, 21, 1 foll.

² Cf. note 11 of *Delafosse* in his edition IX, p. 617.

³ Pliny XXXVII, 22, 1 foll.

Vigayapura, Sitabuldi, Sawilghara, Doondergaon and Bawari in the Dekhan.¹ This circumstance makes it necessary to seek out the name of this precious stone in the Indian language and not to derive it from Greek as a celebrated mineralogist had done, according to whom '*Opállos* is a derived word, and strictly means altered face: an explanation that sins against the best known rules of Greek Grammar. As *Upala* means in Sanskrit not only stone and rock, but also a kind of precious stone, hence certainly an opal, the Greeks, and from them the Romans, obtained with this gem also its name.

Whether the precious stone named *Kallaína* in the Periplus of the Red Sea, and *Callianus* in the Digests is the same, as the one called by this name by Pliny, and had obtained it on account of its misty greyish or bluish colour, is more dubious, because the places where it is found, namely Kapadokia, Phrygia and Kataonia are too distant from India, than that it could be exported from the port *Barborikon*² at the Indus-mouths, as was the case according to the testimony of the Alexandrian Periegete.³ The last circumstance leads to the suspicion that in this case it was a kind of gem called Kallaís by Pliny because it was found in the lands north of the Indian Caucasus among the Dahd and Bactrians, and among the Sakd West of the Belurtag, and therefore could be exported from the Bactrian countries to the port at the mouths of the Indus. Accordingly it would have been the Turquois.⁴ If this determination may claim a high degree of probability for itself, then the ascertaining of the gem to be mentioned in the next place, which is in the Roman code of law called *Ceraunium* and by Pliny *Ceraunius*,

¹ Newbald's summary of the Geology of Southern India, *J.R.A.S.* IX. 73.

[² Schoff, pp. 37, 32, 128, 165, 270—Trs.]

³ Pliny XXXVII 33, 1, and 56; p. 22.

⁴ *Plin.* XXXVII 33, 1 and 46, 2 with Note I in the ed. of Delafosse IV, p. 634. The words of Pliny are: *After turning away from India it is found among the Phycasi a nation of mount Caucasus, among the Sack and Dahd.* The position of the two last peoples is known, the first is quite unknown; it dwelt probably on the Belurtag. The Turquoises are known to come principally from the eastern Iranian countries. [Schoff 38, 170, 223—Trs.]

is subject to great difficulties, because he gives two different accounts without reconciling them to each other.¹ According to him this precious stone belonged to the white ones, was called *Astrios*, was found in India on the bank of the unidentified river *Pallene* and emitted from its centre like a star a brilliancy resembling that of the moon; some authors derived its name from its being opposite to the stars, withdrawing and returning to them their brilliancy. The best kind quite free from faults occurred in Karmania; some inferior ones were called *Craunious* and the lowest, found only in Persia, possessed merely the splendour of a lamp. In the second passage a single species is mentioned which is called *Ceraunias*, robbed the stars of their brilliancy, was like crystal and of sky-blue colour; it was found also in Karmania. Accordingly it must be left undecided whether we have to assume that only one, or three kinds of this gem existed, and of what kind the Indian one was.² It is most appropriately considered to be a kind of carbuncle, because such were known to the ancients in India, and because it cannot be supposed that the Romans caused a not very valuable precious stone to be brought from India.³ Although Pliny does not expressly say it, nevertheless, the manner in which he mentions the second gem of the species of the white ones, shows that he had seen it.⁴ It occupied the second rank among the white precious stones, and was especially distinguished by containing like the pupil, enclosed light, which, when kept in a straight line, it, so to say, pours out, and its rays move from one place to the other, but if it is kept in an

¹ *Plin.* XXXVII 47, 1; 48, 1, and 51, 1.

² *Salmasius* (l. q. w. p. 197 a. B.) assumes two kinds, although Pliny mentions three in one passage. According to the former the first kind is a crystal, the second a carbuncle.

³ The occurrence of carbuncles is shown by Pliny XXXVII, 25, 1. The name *Ceraunias* is Greek, namely from *charaunós* lightning, and means, possessing a splendour resembling lightning; the Greeks probably meant various kinds of gems by this general name. Also the name *Astrios*, i.e., small star, is Greek.

⁴ *Plin.* XXXVII 45, 1, with Note 1, in the ed. of Delafosse IX, p. 648.

inverted direction it reflects the white glimmering rays of the sun. On account of its resemblance to a star, it had received the name *Astrois* and is the kind of opal called by the French *Girasol* or *opale changeante*. It was difficult to use these opals in raised work, and the Indian ones were preferred to those of Karamania. Also the principal species of this kind had received a Greek name, namely *Paideros*, i.e., rouge, although as Pliny justly remarks, it is surprising that such a name was given to so valuable an object.¹

[With reference to the explanation of the names *saccondion*, *sacon* and *sagenon* proposed by Weber (Zarncke's literary central periodical 187 no. 857, page 90) by *saguna*, i.e., "good, endowed with good properties" I remark, that this fits only the last name which designates the noble opal; but not the two first ones, which mean amethysts, and of which only my explanation through *Sakunada* and *Sakuna*, i.e., "of happy omen" is tenable; according to Pliny the Indians called this precious stone *saccondion* and its colour *sacon*.] In it several properties coincided to impart to it an extraordinary value. It possessed the transparent splendour of crystal, a touch of green colour, of the foam of wine and of saffron which was most remarkable; further the redness of purple which crowned it. All these colours occurred in it and no precious stone was more fit to fascinate the beholder by the lovely variety of its hues. The most esteemed stones of this kind came from India and were called *sagenon*, which can be but another form of the above explained *sacon*, in Sanskrit *Sakuna*.² Most probably on account of its play of colours the well-known noble opal must be understood by it.

If it was, in the preceding Indian gems, unavoidable to determine the signification of their names, the three following ones do not require it because their names are known. They are the *beryl*, the *sapphire* and the *emerald*, which the Periplus of the Red Sea as well as the Roman code of laws states to have

¹ *Plin.* XXXVII 45, 1 and 2.

² *Cf.* p. 13.

been exported from India. A chief place of finding beryls was in the vicinity of the town Pannatta in Limyrike, which is situated in the region of the present Bullari.¹ Most beryls came from India; from other places but few came.² The artists polished them all in vertical forms, because otherwise their brilliancy would be obscured and not reflected from the edges; and because if polished differently, they would lose their beautiful brilliancy. The most esteemed beryls were those which resembled the green colour of the sea; next to them in value were those, which were paler, were called chryso-beryls and the splendour whereof approached that of gold. A third kind possessed a still weaker brilliancy and was by some persons considered as a particular kind which they called chrysophrases. A fourth kind resembled hyacinths; the fifth was light coloured; the sixth wax-coloured and the seventh oil-coloured. The commonest sort had fibres and a dirty brilliancy which it gradually lost, like most precious stones. The Indians estimated beryls extremely high on account of their length, and mentioned to their glory, that they were the only precious gems which they esteemed more than gold. Therefore, after perforating them, they tied them to the saddles of elephants. Other Indians however maintained the opinion that beryls were not to be perforated on account of their excellency, and preferred only to envelop their tops in golden caps; and to manufacture cylinders of the beryls which they carried in their seal-rings in preference to other gems. They suffered in common with emeralds from the fault of having a soft part and dark spots besides. Pliny had been informed that in the Roman empire, Indians used to visit Pontus and to palm off coloured crystals for genuine precious stones, but especially for beryls.

Pliny's accurate knowledge of these gems which he had not acquired from writings but from the carefully compared specimens of separate beryls, makes it almost certain that these formed at that time considerable articles of commerce between

¹ *Ptol.* VII, 1, 84.

² *Plin.* XXXVII, 28, 1, foll.

the Roman empire and India. The case was different with sapphires and emeralds. Plinius, in his data about them does not at all mention the Indian ones, whence it may be concluded, that India did not possess any very dear precious stones of these two kinds, or at least did not trade in them with the Romans, especially as the author of the Roman Natural History assigns to emeralds the rank next to diamonds and pearls.¹ He moreover supplies the two other sources from which we are obliged to derive our knowledge on the precious stones exported from the Indian countries. Thus the Romans received two kinds of Jasper; one resembled emeralds; the second dark-red purple, without possessing its splendour.² The Romans further obtained the precious stones called *Melichysi*, because the colour of gold was peculiar to them, which shines through pure honey. This gem is the honey-yellow topas. Lastly, the principal *chrysolites* came from India, but it must be surprising that according to the testimony of the Alexandrian Periegete they were imported into the haven of Barbarikon.³ They came probably from Æthiopia because its *chrysolites* are distinguished from the Indian ones; perhaps also from the Indian emporia.

Pliny mentions yet other Indian precious stones; but as it is not clear whether he described them according to the reports of other authors or had them before his eyes, the enumeration may be more suitably reserved for the following section of this book. Concerning the diamond, the most costly of all gems, it is certain from the report of the Alexandrian merchant and from the Roman code of laws that they were brought from India to the Roman Empire. Hereto it must be added that in ancient times India was the only country which possessed diamonds. Accordingly Pliny must have confounded these with spurious ones resembling them; when he asserts that besides the Indian ones, five other kinds of diamonds had

¹ *Plin.* XXXVII 15, 1. foll. 16; 1, foll. and 17, 1 foll.

² *Plin.* XXXVII 1, 45, 1. with Note 1. ed. of Delafosse IX, pp. 646 and 42, 1.

³ *Periplus, Mar. Erythr.* p. 22.

become known.¹ According to him a diamond was the most precious of all terrestrial things, and in ancient times even among kings but few could boast of having one. The largest known to Pliny were of the size of Avellanian kernels; since that time, as we know, considerably larger ones have been found. Besides the chief use in ornaments, diamonds served also lapidaries in their pursuits. Thereby they made use of pulverised diamonds, the powder whereof enclosed in iron could excavate the hardest stones. Pliny considers the discovery of the operation of reducing diamonds to a scarcely visible powder, as one of the most remarkable discoveries of the human mind; but he is mistaken when he asserts that diamonds can be crushed only when placed into fresh, warm blood of he-goats.

On account of the affinity of the use of pearls by opulent Romans in their ornaments, they may here be mentioned although they are a product of pearl-oysters. Since a very early time they enjoyed a high value in the eyes of orientals, and two of the companions of Alexander *Androstenes* and *Chares* testify, that in their time the Persians, Medes and other peoples of anterior Asia gave for pearls their weight in gold, and valued the ornaments fabricated of them higher than golden ones.² The Romans obtained many pearls, but especially from Taprobane on the coasts whereof the most productive oyster-banks were situated. Pliny assigns to them the rank next to diamonds, and says that among his countrymen pearls were as highly esteemed as *corals* among the Indians.³ He devotes to the description and to the use of pearls several chapters of the IXth book of his natural history and gives several examples of the extraordinary value, which rich Romans placed on the possession of beautiful pearls as well as of the scarcely credible extravagance carried on with them by the pomp-loving Romans. What he relates of the origin and fishing of pearls does not concern the

¹ *Plin.* XXXVII 19, 1 foll.

² II p. 880. Note 1, passages quoted from them.

³ P. D. and *Plin.* IX 54, 1, foll. 59, 2; XXXII, 11, 1, and XXVII, 16, 1.

present but the next section of this book wherein the history of the Græco-Roman knowledge of India will be represented.

The advantages of the pearls consisted in their white colour, size, rotundity, smoothness and weight ; all qualities ascertainable with great difficulty so that scarcely ever pearls differing from each other could be found. On account of this similarity of the pearls with each other, the Romans called them by the name of *Unio*, i.e., unity, whilst the Greeks retained the word originating from the Indian *Mañjara* and changed by the barbarians to *Margarita*.¹ With reference to the white colour many differences occurred ; those from the Persian Gulf, where we know that in the islands of Dahsein also pearl-oysters are caught, were of a lighter colour ; the Indian ones were distinguished by possessing the scale-like brilliancy of transparent Selenita. Pearls, the colour whereof approached that of alum, were not praised. By neglect they lost their splendour. Pearls pointed upwards, oblong, and ending below in complete soundness were called *elenchi*, ear-rings, and were compared with the form of small vessels manufactured of alabaster. The Romans wore such pearls on their fingers, and two or even three in their ears, and had in their exuberant joy and consciousness of their opulence invented a special name for the jingling of the pearls, namely : *crotalia*,² because they greatly rejoiced at the jingling caused by the pearls in their ears dashing against each other. The desire for boasting of the possession of pearls had also descended to the Plebeians, and they asserted, that when their wives appeared in public, the pearls bore testimony to their rank, in the same way as lictors to that of consuls or magistrates. The principal Roman ladies went so far in their love of pomp that they fastened pearls not only to the thongs of their sandals, but entirely covered their shoes with them, and the custom had taken possession of them that they could not make their appearance in public without attracting attention by the jingling of pearls on their feet. Had Pliny

¹ Cf. I. p. 649. Note 2.

² The word is derived from the Greek *Chrotale* to jingle.

known that in India not only great ladies but even dancing girls wore golden anklets called *nūpura* which were inlaid with precious stones, he would not have failed to give vent to his feelings concerning the degeneration of the Romans, especially as he praises the simplicity of ancient Roman morals. On the other hand he communicates some very remarkable examples of the almost incredible extravagance in pearls, and of their great quantity. *Lolla*, the daughter of *M. Lollius*, wife of the Emperor *Caius Claudius*, showed herself not only at great festivals but at the betrothals of unimportant men entirely covered with emeralds and pearls, which shone together and covered the whole head, the hair, the plaitings of the hair, the ears, the neck, the necklace and the fingers. She showed by calculations which she submitted that they had cost 40,000,000 sesterii or about 2,026,000 dollars. These pearls had not been presented to her by her extravagant imperial husband, but her father had robbed the kings of the east of this treasure. Thereby he drew upon himself the displeasure of the emperor and committed suicide by poison and thus punished himself for the wrong he had done. The second example is still more remarkable; *Cleopatra*, the notorious queen of Egypt, possessed two great pearls which had become celebrated throughout the world, had formerly belonged to other eastern potentates, and had at last come into her possession. She wore them as ear-rings, challenged her beloved paramour *Antonius* to outdo her in pomp and made on this subject a bet with him. At the repast arranged for this purpose she caused a second table to be brought in whereon but one vessel was standing which was filled with vinegar strong enough to dissolve pearls. *Cleopatra* threw one of her two ear-rings into it and then swallowed the vinegar with the dissolved pearl, *Antonius* was declared vanquished because the values of the table was estimated to amount to 10,000,000 sesterii or 543,444 dollars. Herefrom it is evident what an enormous value was attributed to pearls. *Cleopatra* was stopped by a follower of *Antonius*, from causing the second ear-ring to undergo the same fate. After the conquest

of Alexandria pearls had become very common in Rome, they having come to Rome first during the Augustine war. At the time of Pliny pearls were no doubt imported from *Perimula* or *Perimuda*, a sea-port of the island of Manaar * on the North-coast of Taprobane,† to Alexandria and—brought to Rome, because according to his testimony a celebrated emporium was there; and according to *Ailianos*‡ the fishing of pearl-oysters was zealously carried on there.¹

The second division of the wares imported from India into the countries subject to the Romans consists of products of the vegetable kingdom, either in their natural or in their artificial state ennobled by industry or art. As these goods were partly applicable in medicine, in their description also, two of the four genuine writings of *Dioskorides* may be used, who had lived before Pliny.² The title of the first is: *Gerí ítriches úles* and treats of the remedies; and the title of the second is: *Gerí euporíston árqaon te cháí sunnéton tharmáchon* and contains, as the title implies, an indication of the easily prepareable and of the readymade remedies. Besides these writings yet those of *Klandios-Galenos*, who was after *Hippokrates* the greatest of Greek physicians, are to be consulted. He was born in 131 A. C. and attained a very high age because he was yet alive during the reign of *Alexander Severus* from 222 till 234 A. C. exactly the year of his death cannot be ascertained. He has left a considerable number of writings, the enumeration whereof would here not be in the proper place. In the enumeration of the articles of exportation hereto pertaining, I shall follow the same order as before when I treated of the products of the vegetable world in anterior-India, in Further India and in the Indian archipelago.⁴

* *Plin.* VI, 23, 2 and IX, 54, 1, and *Ailianos De. Nat. Anim.* XI, 8.

† See the ed. of Kurt Sprengel I, p. IX.

‡ Cf. the ed. of C. G. Kuhn I., p. XXI, foll.

4 (Cf. the ed. of Kurt Sprengel) I, p. 244 foll., p. 339 foll. and p. 349 foll.

According to the Periplus of the Red Sea *rice* was exported from Barygaza and the interior adjoining it, to *Opone*, on the African coast.¹ As at that time the cultivation of this important, and afterwards so much propagated cereal had not reached farther west than to Bactria, Susiana and to the Euphrates,² the Greek merchants brought rice principally from India. On the other hand *wheat* was but seldom exported from the just mentioned part to Ethiopia as the author of the above work states, but at the same time remarks that the Greek ships sailing to *Nelkynda* or *Nilesvara* on the Malabar-Coast carried as much wheat as sufficed for the crew during the voyage. Another Indian cereal *Milium* was not exported from India it is true; but on the other hand its cultivation was introduced into Italy ten years before Pliny wrote this passage.³ It is probably the kind of millet very common in India, which botanists call *Holcus Sorghum* and the Indians *guari* or *gawar* in the vernacular.

The *taila* oil, so called from the *tila* the plant *Sesamum Indicum* from which it is obtained, and used in India, forms one of the most important articles brought from that country to Rome. The *Sesamum* plant was well known to the author of the Roman Natural History, and the oil was also utilised for medicines.⁴ It may also be remarked on this occasion, that at the time of Pliny the Romans caused garlands plaited from *roses* to be imported from India and from still more distant countries, to use them at festivals.⁵ As they themselves possessed roses, this can have happened only because they attributed to these flowers a higher value, the greater the distance from which they came.

¹ see p. 9.

² I, p. 245.

³ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 32.

⁴ *Plin.* XVIII, 10, with the notes in the ed. of *Delafosse* VI, p. 195, and p. 201, and then above I, p. 247. Note 3.

⁵ *Plin.* XIII, 2, 7; XV, 9, 1, XVII, 10, 1; 3, 7 and 8; XVIII, 22, 8; 23, 2, then XXII 64, foll. where the remedies prepared from it are indicated. See also *Dióskorides De Nat. Med.* I, 41 and II, 121.

⁵ *Ibid* XXI, 8. 1.

In order properly to understand the data on *cotton* and *cotton-clothes* occurring in the *Periplus of the Red Sea* and in the Roman code of laws, first of all the significations of the words used in these two books must be fixed. The author of the first work makes use of the Indian word *chárpasos* or *Kārpāsa*; the clothes weaved of the cotton he calls, according to the precedent of *Herodotus* the oldest Greek author who mentioned them, *sindónes* which name, it is true, strictly only means Indian but had already before been applied to one of the most valuable and most propagated Indian products.¹ He must have meant by it the usual kind of cotton-clothes, because he calls the finer clothes of this kind *ddónion* and *ddóne*, which were used already by *Homer* for white fine linen-clothes and for female garments prepared from it.² He calls a third kind *molóchinai* which expression properly means a coarser kind of cotton-cloth.³ Of the usual kinds of cotton-cloth, many varieties were exported, especially from *Tagara* in the vicinity of the present Kalberga; the principal ones came from the regions on the Ganges and were therefore called *Gangetic*.⁴ Accordingly the *Ebargiritic* ones exported from the interior called *Argali* near the Argalish gulf, the present Palk road, must have received their name from a district of those parts called *Ebargiri*.⁵ Of the finer cotton-clothes the author distinguishes three kinds; the first, which he calls *platúteron*, i.e., the very broad, or rather very strong one, is by a special name called *monaché*, which designates something particular in its kind, and must therefore be understood of the finest cotton-clothes.⁶ The second sort is called *chudaion*

¹ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 5, p. 28, p. 29 and p. 36 and II, p. 654.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 9, p. 13, p. 15, p. 22, p. 25 and p. 29. In *Homer* occurs e. g., K. V. 141, and *od.* VII, 107.

³ Vincent l. q. w. II, p. 711, *Moláche* which word is less correctly spelt *molóche* and means the *Malve* which is represented as the food of poorer people, therefore the word has in this case probably been transferred to the cotton-clothes used by poor people.

⁴ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 29 and p. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 34.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 9, pp. 28 and 29 and Vincent l. q. w. II, p. 719.

or slight, the third *sagmatúginon*, or more correctly *sagmatogíne* which was used for stuffing cushions, beds, and similar things, and which must therefore be considered as the worst kind. Besides also cotton-yarn of the sort called *moloshinon* came into commerce by the side of the usual cotton yarn called *néma Indichón*.

Much more important are the data of the Roman code of laws, concerning the cotton and the cotton-clothes imported into the Roman empire. In it *Capsium* probably designates cotton-yarn, *carbasia* on the other hand cotton-clothes. An investigation on the use of cotton itself and of the clothes made thereof is beyond the scope of this work, and therefore I may confine myself to a few remarks on them. The first is that the first occasion of the use of cotton among Greeks is uncertain; the second is that it is frequently dubious whether the expressions used by Greek or by Latin authors really designate cotton, or other clothes related to them. This applies, viz., to *Bússos* and *byssus* by which name also clothes manufactured of linen-cloth and of a Greek plant are meant. The same remark applies also to the name *carpasus* which has by Roman authors likewise been applied to other than to cotton-clothes.¹ Accordingly only the name *sindón* remains a reliable witness for the use of cotton-cloth among the classic peoples. Thirdly as far as the propagation of the *gossypium herbaceum* the tree which produces the cotton, is concerned, it is uncertain whether it has positively been planted in upper Egypt at the time of Pliny, and as otherwise only the plantations of this tree on the quite small islands *Tylos* and *Arados* in the Persian Gulf are spoken of during this older time,² anterior India remains the only country from which the cotton clothes could be brought to the subjects of the Roman emperors. [The explanation of the Greek word for cotton is to be modified as follows: It has originated from

¹ Cf. I, p. 250, Note 2, and especially Plin. XIX, 16, 1.

² Cf. I, p. 250, Note 2 and the passages there adduced from *Theophrastus* and *Pliny*. The latter author remarks XII, 21, 1, that the trees growing on *Tylos* and *Arados* are called *gossymphinos*.

the Egyptian word *shenti* which meant in the first instance the Egyptian apron and then articles of garments manufactured from the varieties of *gossypium* growing in Egypt. If hereby the Egyptian origin of the expression cannot be denied, this circumstance does not sufficiently explain its transformation occurring in *Herodotus*, the oldest authority. Accordingly I suppose he found in *Babylon* a similar name for Indian cotton and appropriated this form of the word which afterwards superseded the other. As the Babylonians no doubt obtained the Indian cotton, the name *Sindhu* which not only means the river but also the country through which it flows, may by them have been applied to designate cotton. Accordingly I do not hesitate to assert that in this form *ddōne* is of Indian origin.]

Although *silk* is not the product of a plant but of an animal, but principally of a non-Indian one and of Chinese silk-worms, it may nevertheless be considered on this occasion because also silk manufactured in India, and silk clothes made there, were carried to the Romans by commerce. The usual name for silk, namely *serikōn* and *serium* is not a geographical one, but are given by merchants, is the country, from which they brought the silk wares to the western peoples.¹

This conception of the expression seems certain because in the Roman code of laws *sericum indicum* is adduced as a merchandise. By the words *nema sericum* in the digests as well as in the *Periplus* of the Red Sea spun silk is designated; by the word *Serichē* the author of the latter writing must have meant silken stuffs. The corrupted passage in the digests wherein several kinds of silk-clothes are mentioned, may be most appropriately amended as follows: *Chelone Aethiopia vel Indica Serica metaxa vestis Serica vel Subserica vel tineta.*²

¹ Cf. I, p. 321, Note 2, and II, p. 594.

² The reading of *Spangenberg's* edition, page 181, has the following: *Chelynia India vel adseria, metaxa vestis Serica vel Subserica*. The first

If these corrections be accepted then we obtain *Serica* for silk-clothes, *Metaxa* for raw silk, and *vestis Serica* for garments made entirely of silk, whilst *Subserica* must have been half-silken clothes. This appears from the circumstance that *holoserica* and *subserica* are distinguished; the latter are suit-clothes as are made of another cloth but have a silk-woof. Besides these dyed clothes also came from India across Alexandria to the Roman empire. If to these wares yet *Nemaserium* be added for silken yarn, then the Romans received raw-silk as well as silk-yarn, as also all-silk and half silken clothes across Alexandria.

Previous to the reign of Justinian in the second half of the sixth century, silk-cultivation had been introduced into the Byzantine empire.¹ India necessarily remained the principal mart for silk with the western countries, especially as the commerce by land with India, was, in many ways, obstructed by the Parthians, as has been already shown above.² Shortly before this, silk was yet exported across India from China but especially from the Indian ports to Persia, to the country of the Homerites in Arabia Felix, and to Adule in Ethiopia.³ From the manner in which Aristotle mentions

emendation belongs to Salmasius l. q. w. p. 837 6, E, who also proposes *Chelone* instead of *Chelynine*, the 2ND, Vincent l. q. w. 11, p. 765. The first emendation is confirmed by the following passages of the ancients. According to *Strabo* XVI, 4, 14, p. 773, the *Chelonophagoi*, i.e., tortoise-eaters, lived on the Ethiopian coast, and according to *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 7, the principal tortoises were there. Pliny mentions XXXVII, 96, 3 and 4, two kinds of precious stones, which were called *Chelodonæ*; it is the first which must be considered as the Ethiopian one. This one had the colour of swallows and the rear was purple-red with intervening black points. The second kind *Chelonia* was the eye of the Indian tortoise. As *vel tincta* approaches the traditional reading more than *at tincta* I prefer this emendation to that of Vincent. The objection made by him that *Metaxa* and *Nema Sericum* are usually used of the same thing, falls to the ground by *Metaxa* being usually placed for raw silk. Lastly it will be more correct to conceive *Serica* not as a general superscription, but as elsewhere in the sense of silk stuffs.

¹ See on this event the passages adduced above I, p. 322, Note 1.

² See above p. 2.

³ *Kosmas*, p. 337, C.

Bóuboz by which word the Greeks designate the silk-worm and the silk itself,¹ it may be concluded that the mulberry-tree *bombyx mori* had become known to him, but that he possessed no knowledge of the insect itself or of the worm, and that in his time but few Greek women made use of silk. Nevertheless, already cocoons were brought to Greece and worked to yarn; then the silk was used for fine clothes, but first on the island *Kos*. The matter had formed itself quite differently since the beginning of the time of the Roman Emperors; since that time the use of silk made considerable progress, whilst the increase of the knowledge of the manner in which silk is obtained, did not keep equal pace with them.

Not only Virgil but also Pliny was under the erroneous impression that the silk was combed down from the leaves of the trees.² He had repeated the report of Aristotle only in an extract and the obscurity of his words had given currency to the long reputed error, that the Roman women first dissolved the textures brought from Asia and then weaved them anew. The only Classic author who showed a more accurate acquaintance with silk goods and with the proceedings of the Serians to feed silk-worms and to obtain the silk from cocoons, is *Pausanias* who composed his well-known work about 100 A.C.³ He is, however, mistaken when he says that the Greeks call the silk-worm *Térbut*, the Serians differently, because *Ser* has originated from the Chinese *see* or *szu* with omitted *r*.⁴ Also his geographical reports concerning the land of the Serians are incorrect and partly confused. According to him the island *Seria* was situated in the innermost corner of the Erythraean sea, on the river *Ser*. *Pausanias* considers the Serians as belonging to the race of the Ethiopians, as well as the inhabitants of the two

¹ *De histor. animal*, V, 19.

² See Virgil's *Georg.* II, 21 and Pliny's *H. N.* VI, 20, 2, and 24, 8 and XI, 26, 1. The words of the first passage are quoted I, p. 350, Note 2.

³ VI, 26, 4.

⁴ See I, p. 321, Note 2.

adjoining islands *Abasa* and *Sakaia*; others on the contrary considered these peoples as Scythians who were mixed with the Indians. In this report evidently various narratives of the Greek merchants are bundled up about that distant country. The identification of the *Serd* and of the Ethiopians probably belongs to the ancient Homeric idea that the latter nation inhabited the outermost frontiers of the earth;¹ also the name *Erythroish* has been erroneously applied to the Easternmost sea. The river *Ser* is probably no other than the *Seros* of Ptolemy, of which it will be shown that it is the *Kamboja*-river. As at the time of this geographer *Kattigara* or *Canton* was the principal emporium of China, and in the vicinity of this town a Brahmanic colony existed in *Bramma*,² and as further silk was from thence brought to the Romans and from inner Asia throughout the regions of the *Serd* and the *Sæd*, which latter one could easily have been designated as a Scythian nation, it is satisfactorily explained how in the above passage of Pausanias such different persons, living so far from each other, can have been thrown together by this author who was so little familiar with the geography of Eastern Asia. It is scarcely necessary expressly to mention that the statement, that there is yet an island *Sakaia*, is entirely confounded; the island *Seria* on the other hand might be one of the small isles at the mouth of the *Canton*-river, on one of which *Macao* is situated.³

In judging of the reports of the Classic writers on the use of silk clothes among the Greeks and Romans, the difficulty occurs whether the Asiatic, i.e., Chinese silk, or indigenous clothes related to silk are meant; for, in India there are at least twelve kinds of silk-spinning worms, and among the kinds of silk obtained from their textures, there are two, i.e., those called *Tusser* and *Eranda*; the one is in

¹ See I, p. 390.

² See III, p. 7.

³ The island *Abasa* is perhaps called *Abasa* because there is a river *Ambastes* and a nation called *Ambastai*; cf. page 7.

common use; the second on the other hand is of unusual duration; as besides, the Indians had already used their indigenous kinds of silk for the manufacture of fine clothes¹ there can scarcely be a doubt that the inhabitants of the Roman empire obtained silk and silk-stuffs also from India. On the island *Kos* there was a particular variety of caterpillars which lived on cypresses, terebin tree, asp-trees and oaks, of the textures whereof a yarn employed for weaving was spun.² These fabrics were distinguished by their thinness and lightness, and also men were not shy to wear during summer clothes manufactured from them. As clothes of this kind are also called *bombyasia*, like those made of Chinese and Indian silk, a doubt arises which of the two kinds we have to understand by them. It is true, from the tolerably frequent contrast of *Serica* and *bombyasia* it may be supposed that the first name designated Asiatic silken stuffs and garments, and *bombyasia* on the contrary, the European ones.³ This idiom is however by no means fixed. The most celebrated Greek silk-spinners were on the islands *Kos*, *Amorgos* and some others; the most celebrated among the Roman ones were those in the Etruscan village *Tusculus*. These manufactories furnished the thin gauze-like textures, which were worn not only by women but also by men, inspite of the royal prohibition.⁴ The Roman authors who still adhered to the strict morals of their ancestors, often manifest their amazement on the wanton silk dresses of Roman women, which scarcely hindered the colour of the skin to appear through them, so that they seemed to be almost naked.⁵ Roman females in general carried the luxury

¹ Cf. I, p. 317, foll.

² *Pliny* XI, 28, 1, and 2. Cavier remarks in note 1 of Ajasson's edition IV, p. 533, that since the introduction of the silk-worm into the Byzantine empire these caterpillars have fallen into oblivion.

³ Cf. e.g. *Clemens Paedagog* II, 10, *ulp. Dig.* XXXIV 2, 23, 1 and *Panloos Sent.* III. 7.

⁴ *Zuñitlanus* II, 10, p. 649. *Spanti*.

⁵ Cf. e.g. *Horatius Sat.* 1, 2, 101. *Pliny* VI, 20, 2, who expresses himself as follows: *So that in public the matron shines through.*

of silk dresses to the greatest extremity ; thus for instance, they wore with the Seric costume also garlands of the mere leaves of the Narde or of variegated flowers which were moistened with salve.¹ In this respect men did not yield to women, and wore not only Seric clothes, but used this fabric also for pillow-cases, carriage covers, and similar things. Lastly as far as the value of the silk is concerned, at the time of the Emperor *Aurelianus* a pound of silk was worth as much as a pound of gold.²

In the next place two plants must be mentioned which belonged to the genus of reeds, although they served the Indians for various purposes. The first is the *Bamboo*-reed, of which Pliny reports that he has frequently seen it in temples.³ His exact description of these reeds and his data on the use which the Indians make of this highly useful plant, will be reserved for the next section of this book. The next reed is the *sugar-cane*. According to the testimony of the Alexandrian Periegete it was called *Sách Chari* which he calls a kind of honey.⁴ The name is to be considered as a Parkrit-form of the Sanskrit-word *sarkara*, which means also sugar in grains.⁵ From this the *Saccharon* is to be distinguished, which is the *Tabashir* contained in the bamboo-reeds, is used as a medicine and was also called *Sarkarā*.⁶ That most-praised came from India. As a remedy also *Boùloron* will have to be regarded, of which the Alexandrian merchant relates, that the region round *Barygaza* is fertile in it, and that it was exported thence.⁷ It is clear that in the present case the word cannot have the usual meaning of butter, which is not used in India, and can besides not be designated as a product of the vegetable world. Accordingly by it most suitably *Asa foetida* may be understood,

¹ Cf. *Plin.* XXI 8, 1, where he adds : *this is the latest fashion of female luxury.*

² *Vopiscus* in the biography of this emperor, 13.

³ *Plin.* XVII, 65, 3 and 4.

⁴ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 9.

⁵ Cf. I., p. 270, note 2.

⁶ *Pliny* XII, 7, 1, and *Dioskorides*, then *De mat.* II, 104, with note, p. 273.

⁷ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 9. and p. 24.

which is obtained from *Ferula foetida*, and is in Sanskrit also called *Bhūtāri* which name the Greek merchant could easily change to *butyron*. A confirmation of this explanation follows from the circumstance that *Assafatida* is exported from the adjoining Sind.¹ A third medicine which the Romans obtained from India is that called *lūkion* or *lycium*, which is probably prepared from the *Mimosa catechu*, although this special kind of tree has not yet been fixed with due reliability.² A fourth remedy was called *māchar* or *macir* and was the reddish bark of the great roots of the trees of the same name, which grow in India, but were not known to Pliny.³ This bark belonged probably to a tree yet growing on the Malabar-coast, which is large and called *maire* by the Brahmans of those parts, the bark whereof is highly esteemed, but the tree has not yet been accurately identified.⁴ As far as the name is concerned, it is probably to be explained from the Sanskrit word *Makara*, which means also one of the treasures of *Kuvera* the God of riches, especially as the Brahmans in Malabar consider its flowers as sacred ones. Its root was principally used against dysentery. Lastly, as a medicine one has to consider *saffron* which was according to the *Periplus of the Red Sea* exported from *Barygaza*, because this product of the vegetable world was by the Classical nations used only as a medicine, and was esteemed only additionally on account of its perfume. According to the prescriptions of the Greek-Roman physicians *saffron* constituted an ingredient of remedies against a tolerably great number of diseases, the enumeration of which must here

¹ *Ritter's Asien* IV, 2, p. 965.

² Cf. Pliny XXIV, 77, 1 foll. where a description of the preparation of this remedy and its effects are communicated and Kurt Sprengel's note to *Dioskorides* I, p. 405.

³ Pliny XII, 1, 16, 1; *Dioskorides De mat. med.* I, p. 110 and *Galen os De simpl. medier. ten.* VIII.

⁴ Kurt Sprengel's Note in his ed. II, p. 390, foll. According to Desfontaine in his excuse to Pliny V., p. 114, foll., the just cited German scholar had asserted that the skin which envelops the aromatic seed of the Muskat nut is meant. He on the contrary rejects this opinion. Hereto it must also be added that the ancients called the muskat-nut-tree *caryophyllon*.

be omitted. As the Romans obtained *saffron* especially from Kyrene, Lykia, Sicily and other countries, but received it only exceptionally from India, I need not here enter extensively into the subject.

It may be mentioned on this occasion that from *Barygaza* also mahogany and beams were exported.¹ According to the reports which had reached the author of the Roman Natural History, mahogany-trees were spread far over India. By the beams probably such as were made of Teak-trees may be understood, because their wood distinguished itself by its great duration.²

The next place may be assigned to the *colouring-substances* which were used partly by weavers and partly by painters. According to the testimony of the Alexandrian merchant cotton-clothes dyed with lac-colour were exported from India; he knows already the present name of this colour.³ He further relates that *Indichon mélan* or *Indigo* formed an article of export from India, on which the author of the Roman Natural History gives us closer information.⁴ According to him there existed two kinds of this colour, the present name whereof still bears testimony to its Indian origin; only the second does not answer to the present dying stuff and is represented to consist of the leaves, the branches and the stems of the *Indigofera tinctoria* brought to fermentation in water.⁵ The foam floating on the vessels in the workshops of the purple-dyers was on account of its beautiful purple-colour named *Indicus Purpurismus* and used by painters.⁶ The genuine colour of this kind was examined by burning; if the matter burned

¹ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 20 and *Pliny* XII, 8, 1, and 9, 1.

² *Cf.* I, p. 252.

³ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 5., where this colour is called *lakkos*.

This name answers to the form *lakka* of the vulgar-languages and is based on the Sanskrit-form *lākṣā*, which is disfigured from *rākṣā*. This is to be derived from the root *raṅg* to dye; *cf.* I, p. 316, note 3.

⁴ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 13 and *Pliny* XXXV, 27, see also *Dioskorides* V, 107.

⁵ See I, p. 277.

⁶ *Pliny* XXXV, 12.

it showed the colour of the most excellent purple and its smoke emitted a smell. Some sellers of this colour adulterated it by colouring with the genuine indigo also excrements of pigeons or chalk from the town *Selinus* in Sicily, or by mixing glass with the chalk of the glass-pearls of common sealing rings, one pound of genuine indigo cost ten dinars or nearly two dollars, and was also used in medicine as sedative remedy. The second kind of this dying stuff was drawn from the loam adhering to the reeds, and when rubbed up became black, and on the contrary if dissolved in water it gave out a wonderful dark-blue colour. This colour is now no longer known. To both these kinds of dying stuffs a great preference was given.

The objects to be considered next are two *resins*, namely *amber* and *cinnabar*; it is true the first was no object of commerce, but may here be mentioned, because its mention shows, that commercial intercourse between *Cappadocia* and India was a usual one in the beginning of our era.¹ *Archelaos* who governed Cappadocia as a Roman province under the Emperor Tiberius had caused amber to be brought from India which adhered to the bark of a Fir tree, had a coarse surface, and if worked in milk-victuals attracted their fat to itself. From the circumstance that ants, lizards and plants could be seen spinning through this amber, it may be seen that it originally existed in a fluid state and that at that time they had become pasted into it. As according to more recent researches fossil amber is an indurated rosin containing insects and other objects, and occurs in a good many countries, nothing can be said against the above narrative.

Cinnabar is neither the pus mixed with blood of dragons nor is its name Indian,² because this stuff, called in the sacred language of the Brahmins *raklapārada* or *rasasindūra* though also called dragon-blood, is nevertheless only the red sap dropping from the *Ptereocarpus Dracs* or *Ptereocarpus*

¹ Pliny. XXXVII.

² What Pliny maintains XXXIII, 38, 1.

Santalini.¹ The cinnabar was also obtained on the island *Dioskorida*, now called Din Sokotora, and as the Alexandrian merchant correctly observes, from juices flowing out of trees like tears.² Among the Romans cinnabar had found a tolerably wide application.³ It was used as colour by painters and especially esteemed on account of its beautiful colour.⁴ It was further mixed up with the salves and served in medicine as antidote of poisons. In the use of cinnabar in medicine the abuse became common to add mountain-cinnabar to the Indian cinnabar.⁵

Now we attain the two divisions of goods, which must be considered as the most important of those by which India mostly promoted the extravagant love of pomp of the rich and luxurious Romans; namely the *spices* and *perfumes*. At that time pepper was an exclusively Indian product and could be brought to the Romans only from its native country, the Malabar-coast.⁶ Pepper like some other spices, and several perfumes are in the Roman code of laws called *species* which word is conceived in its special meaning of *spices*, an idiom

¹ Cf. note 6 of *Delafosse* in his ed. VI, p. 38. The name is rather of Semitic origin, because the first part of it *Kinna* is preserved in *Kinna-momon*, the name of which is, according to the testimony of *Herodotos*, certainly Phoenician; cf. I, p. 290, note 2. The meaning of the whole name is not yet explained.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 18, note 2.

³ Cf. II, p. 580.

⁴ Pliny XXXIII 38, 1; XXXVII, 39, 1, and XXXV, 12, 2; further *Dioskorides De mat. med.* V, 109, and *Galenos De simplic. medic.*X, 19.

⁵ Pliny XXIX 8 and 8 [a plausible explanation of *kinnabari*, the Greek name for cinnabar, is that proposed by A. Weber (l. q. w.) by *chhinnavari*, i. e. fracture—water, because in the *Periplus of the Red Sea* I, p. 281 in C. Muller's Ed. of the *Geogr. Graec. Minores* it is said: *kinnabani*, to *Legómenon* 'Indikónapo' etc., and Pliny expressly testifies that the name cinnabar is of Indian origin. It only raises a difficulty that here *chh* is rendered by which is otherwise represented by *s*, as e.g. in *Sandorkyptos-Chandragupta*, *Sandrabatis-Chandravati*. Therefore I prefer to explain the first part from *kīṇa* the Prakrit form of *kīṇa*, i. e. "thin water contracting itself".

⁶ See I, p. 278.

of which examples occur in later literature,¹ and from which in the Romaic languages the Spanish *espeierias*, the Italian *spezierie* and the French *épicerie* were formed ; from the second the German language has taken the expression. In the Roman code of laws *piper longum* designates the black and *piper album* the white pepper which is only the split black one. The chief marts for commerce with pepper were *Muziris* or *Mangalor* and *Nelkynda* the present *Nileśvara*, which was frequented by many ships on account of the excellence and the quantity of pepper.² To the second port alone the kind of pepper was brought which obtained the name *kottonarinon* because it richly flourished there, or perhaps more correctly at *Kottonara* in the vicinity of this emporium. The most suitable explanation of this name might be the circumstance that the so-called pepper came from the region of *kadutinada* because the pepper grows there³ and because by pronouncing the name *kadutinara* the Greek form could easily originate. The taste for pepper had at the time when Pliny wrote his rich work, attained an incredible height among the Romans ; it was bought for its own weight in gold and silver, though Pliny could not master his astonishment at the idea that a berry distinguished only by its pungency should be so much coveted whilst other plants were sought on account of their sweetness or form.⁴ At that time already a pound of white pepper cost seven denari or more than 2 Thlr. 7 Gr., a pound of the black on the contrary, only about 23 Gr. The Romans used pepper principally like ourselves to impart zest to their victuals ;⁵ it was however also used in medicine. It had become known already to *Hippokrates*, the oldest Greek physician ; no doubt through the *Phoenicians*, and was afterwards used for medicines ; more seldom the

¹ Salmesius l. q. w. p. 739 a, C. and p. 765, a. c.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* pp. 31 and 32.

³ *Francis Buchanan, A Journey through Mysore*, pp. 506 and 510. Pliny calls VI, 26, 10 this region *Cottonara*.

⁴ XII, 14, 3 and 4.

⁵ *Plin.* XIX, 62, 1 and XXXIII, 27, 1.

piperitis, probably the pepper-herb¹. Accordingly whilst there can be no doubt about the home of pepper, on the other hand only Ethiopia vies with India for the preference of having produced two other very costly objects of Roman-Indian commerce. They are the *Kassia* and the *Kinnamomon*. As I have treated of these two plants² before, I can in general refer to the previous treatment of this object, and I need here only mention the chief points, and to use such authors as flourished during the period of time now under consideration. The remark may be made that *Pliny* confirms the view that Arabia Felix produces neither *Kassia* nor *Kinnamomon*³. Of both plants there existed various kinds⁴. The most excellent *kassia* and the most excellent *kinnamomon* come from the port *Mosyllon* on the Ethiopian coast; accordingly the first has received the name *mósulon* and the second of *mosulites*. A commoner sort of *Kinnamomon*, was called *feudachinnamómon*; a coarser *kassia* *feudachassía*⁵.

Kylokinnamomon was remarkable on account of its being wood-like, having coarser rushes and less perfume. The *Kylo-kassia* of the ancients is lastly the produce of the Cinnamon-tree growing wild in India, and resembles genuine cinnamon, in smell and taste, but is coarser than it⁶. As far as India is concerned it may here suffice to mention, that according to the testimony of *Strabon* *Kinonamomon* was at Rome in southern India, and that to Arabia Felix Rore *Kassia* was brought from India than from Ethiopia⁷.

¹ *Hippokrates*, *De morb. mul.*, II, p. 656, ed. Kuhn; *Plin.* XX, 66, 1; XX, 111, 3 and *Dioskorides* *De med simpl. temper.* II, 88. *Galenos* also mentions pepper as a medicine in several places, which need however not be mentioned here.

² See I, p. 279, foll. and II, pp. 55 and 561.

³ XII, 41, 1.

⁴ *Dioskorides*, *De mat. med.* I, 12 and 13; and *Galenos*, *De antid.* 12 14, 1, 257 ed. Kuhn. According to the *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 7, from the emporia of those parts great quantities of *kassia* were exported. *Pliny* XII, 42 2, bears testimony that *cinnamomum* grows in Ethiopia.

⁵ *Strabon* XVI, 4, 14, p. 774.

⁶ *Cf.* I, p. 281.

⁷ XV, 422, p. 695, and XVI, 4, 25, p. 785.

From this elucidation it is clear, that in the mention of the use and price of the two above plants it must be left undecided whether we are by them to understand Indian or Ethiopian ones. The most complete list of these two wares occurs in the Roman code of laws in which we find : *Cinnamomon*, *Kylocinnamomon*, *Cassia tantum* or according to another version *rhunjama*, i.e. used as perfume, and *Kylocanium*. The chief use of these goods was the medical one, of which to communicate the rules of Salenos and of Dioskorides, this would be the improper place; on the other hand it seems suitable to indicate their prices, because from them it appears what a high value these products of the Ethiopian and Indian soil possessed in the eyes of the Romans¹. The price of the Kinna-momon was very high, since one pound of it cost 25 denarii or about 4 Thlr. 23 gr. which rose as far as 300 denarii or 53 Thlr. Also the price of Kassia changed greatly because for a pound of the best sort 50 denarii or about 9½ Thlr. and for one of commonest on the other hand, only 5 denarii or 1 Thlr. was paid. The *kylocinnamomon* was four times as dear as Kassia.

If in the two preceding plants their country could be doubted, in the following two there is no doubt at all. Firstly the *kardamums* which were used also in medicine². Of the principal sort one pound cost 10 denarii or about 2 Thlr. 8 gr. Secondly *Cloves*, which were by the ancients called by a Greek or perhaps only graecioized name *karuóphullon*, belong exclusively to the Moluccas. The Romans esteemed them principally for their smell³. The third

¹ Pliny XIII, 2, 8; XII, 43, 2, and XII, 42, 5.

² D. Pliny XII, 29, 1, where it is, however, erroneously stated that a kind of *kardamums* grows in Arabia, as they occur besides in anterior India only in Siam and Kamboja; cf. I, p. 281; further Galenos, *De simpl. med. temper.* XII, 19, and *De compos. medio.* XIII, p. 337 ed. Kuhn.

³ D. and P. XII, 15, 1, where the name is correctly written *garyophyllon*. *Karuóphullon* means the leaf of the nut-tree, especially of the walnut-tree; perhaps the Indians called the clove *karukaphulla* which may designate the flower of the granite-apple-tree, and may have been applied to designate the spice,

spice here to be mentioned, namely *zingibar* or *ginger* was brought to the ancients not only from India, but also from Ethiopia whence the best sort came. It was used as a medicine, and a pound of it cost four denarii or a little more than 22 gr.¹ For medical purposes also the *Calamus odoratus*, which likewise grows in India, and is not to be confounded with the Syrian one, was used.²

A much more extensive application was enjoyed, by the *Malabathron* or *tamalapatra* of the Indians, which consisted of the leaves of the Cassia and of other laurels, and the most esteemed of which was carried to the Romans.³ On the manner of obtaining it the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea* gives a tolerably accurate report, which is hereto communicated and explained. Annually the savage nation of the *Sesatai*, more correctly called *Besodai* by Ptolemy, the individuals whereof were of short stature, broad faces and blunt noses, migrated to the frontiers of the Thinaï. They were followed by their wives and children, wore bundles plaited of rushes and carried leaves of creepers with themselves. During the festival they used their bundles as couches, and after the termination of it they returned to their families. After their departure, persons who had observed their doings, visited

with the origin whereof they were but little familiar. The Greeks were fond of giving to foreign words a familiar turn. [To my explanation of the Greek name of the clove *Karyophyllon* from the Sanskrit word *Karukaphulla*, fruit of the granate-apple-tree, A. Weber has opposed another to which he gives the preference, namely from *Kaṭakaphala*. This word means according to O. Boethlingk and R. Roth's Sanskrit Dictionary the *Saccharum sara Roeb*, and an one-yearled plant, whence it appears that also under this supposition the Indians had given to the clove the name of a known plant. From *Kaṭaka* of course *Kaḍaka* and thence *Kadaka* may have originated; but I do not see why my explanation should not have as good a claim to validity as that opposed to it.]

¹ D. P., XII, 14, 2, where it is said that some called it *Zimptbire*, which is less correct because the Greek name is corrupted from the Sanskrit *Śrṅgabera*; then *Dioskorides De mat. med.* II, 190 and *Galenos, De simplic. medic. temper. VI introd. sic. med.* XIV?

² *Pliny* XII, 18, 1; *Dioskorides, De mat. med.* I, 17, and *Galenos purgant. med.* XIII and XIV and *De simplic. medic. temper.* VII, 10, 3.

³ D. and P. especially p. 37 the pages cited I, p. 281, Note 1 and p. 283, Note 3.

the place, picked up the bundles, drew out the threads and fibres of the reeds called *Petra*, rolled them up, and wrapped them into the fibres of the reed of the leaves they obtained three kinds of *Malabathron* which bore special names according to the various sizes of the leaves.¹ Those people brought afterwards these three kinds of *Malabathron* to India or more correctly to the emporium *Gange* situated on the mouths of the Ganges.² The explanation of this somewhat obscure report is perhaps the following. Merchants who undertook annual voyages to the country of the *Thinai*, had observed that the *Besodai* went yearly to the limits of the northern high land in order there to celebrate a festival, and to carry there the leaves of the *Malabathron*-bearing trees which are found . . . in eastern Himalaya.³ The merchants probably so arranged their annual journeys that shortly after the departure of the *Besadai* they arrived in the place where the latter had kept the festival and left behind them the *Malabathron* leaves which they esteemed but little. The merchants picked them up, sorted them according to their various sizes, rolled them up and took them to the

¹ The expression *adrósphairon* for *Malabathron* with the biggest leaves *mesósphairon* for the leaves of middle size, and *michrósphairon* for those with the smallest leaves, are latin expressions and again occur in the *Nard*; cf. *Pliny* XII 6, 2. In the name *petra* the author erred, because in Sanskrit *patra* does not mean reed but leaf. The second part of the name of *phairon* relates to the rolling up of the leaves.

² According to the *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 38. I shall afterwards show that the name *Besadai* attributed by Ptolemy to the above nation, is derived from the Sanskrit *vaiśāda*, i.e. lazy, and melancholy, and that they dwelt in Sikkim in the Malaya. I also add, that the *folium pentasphaeron* and the *folium barbaricum* in the Digests can be neither Betel nor *Malabathron* as *Salmasius* had suspected l. q. w. p. 755 a, c., and b, c; not the second, because *Malabathron* is afterwards specially noted in the Digests; nor the first, because the use of betel leaves in such early times cannot be demonstrated. The name of a leaf *barbaricum* is probably not to be explained from that of the port *Barbarei* or *Barbarikon* (cf. II, p. 538) which is situated on the mouths of the Indus, but from *barbarichóskolpos* on the Ethiopian coast (s. Ptol. IV, 7-8) where according to the *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 6. a barbarian nation lived. Therefore the leaf called *pentasphaerum* (was probably used also of this coast, and was a leaf rolled up fivefold.

³ See I, p. 288.

coast, where they sold them to the merchants there, and must have got great profit from this sale, because this valuable article of Indian commerce cost them almost nothing. The principal *Malabathron* came however from the *kirradia*-country or the region on the coast of Further India, between the river *katabeda* or *karnacālī* in the North and the *Tokasanna* or *Arakon-river* in the South;¹ a statement which excites no surprise, because in *Silhet* which was not very distant from *kirradia*, *Malabathron* is produced.² In the eyes of the Romans, *Malabathron* was of extremely high value, and used for various purposes. An oil was prepared of it, of which one pound cost 60 denarii or about 12 Thalers [German dollars], whilst the price of *Malabathron* itself changed greatly or oscillated somewhat less than 6 gr. and 300 denarii or never to 53 Thalers.³ It also served to impart a greater flavour to wine. Lastly also various medicines were produced from *Malabathron*, accurate data whereon, do not belong to this place.⁴

Now we reach the last division of the vegetable wares of India which formed an object of export from India, namely the *perfumes*. Among these *Agallochum* or eaglewood is not only a product of Further India but also of Asam and is mentioned already in the great Epics by the Sanskrit name *aguru* as a present brought from Asam to the Indian Kings.⁵ The ancients used it only as a medicine.⁶ At a yet later period of time than what

¹ Ptol. VII, 2, 2 and 15. I shall afterwards again speak of the side of this country.

² See I, p. 281, Note 2.

³ Pliny XII, 59, 1, where the best *Malabathron* is said to have come from India.

⁴ Pliny XXIII, 48, 1, and *Gal. de compo. med. sel. loc.* IV, XII, p. 756 ed. Kuhn.

⁵ See I, 285 and p. 554, Note 1, further, W. Robinson's *A Descriptive Account of Asam*, p. 63.

⁶ *Dioskorides De mat. med.* I, 21, where the statements that *Agallochum* is imported from India and Arabia to be so understood that it was conveyed to the western peoples from India across Arabia. In the Digests we must probably with Gothopredus amend *alohelacia* to *agalloche*. See also *Gabnos De succed* XIX, p. 723 and 733 ed. Kuhn.

this portion of Indian commercial history embraces, we find eagle-wood mentioned by the name of *Aloe* as a merchandise brought to Taprobane from countries situated more to the east.¹

As the Romans received the best frankincense not from India but from Arabia, it need here be observed of it only that according to the testimony of the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea* it was exported from India.² The Romans used it to impart a pleasant smell to wine; but the special use was a medical one.³ In this place it may be most suitably mentioned that the Indian *myrrh* was plucked from a thorn-bush in those parts, and was easily recognizable; only the worst kind was exported from India, and often used to adulterate the Arabic *myrrh*.⁴

The products of the *Sandal-tree* so highly esteemed by the Indians and applied to several purposes, were but slightly used among the Greeks and Romans. In the *Periplus of the Red Sea* the lection is corrupt and instead of *zúlonsagalinon* we must read *satalinon* or more correctly *santalinon*. The only use of this word which can be pointed out among the ancients is that in medicine, as a purgative. In the first third of the 6th century A.C. sandal-wood was exported from the eastern parts to Taprobane; by these no doubt such must be understood as are situated on the Sunda-islands, because the Sandal-tree is indigenous on them.⁵

As the name *kostor* among the ancients, is to be explained from the Sanskrit-word *kushtha*,⁶ it is probable that India first yielded this aroma which the ancients received also from Syria and Arabia, and that also afterwards it was principally brought

¹ *Kosmas*, p. 337, C.

² *Periplus Mar. Erythr.* p. 28 and *Pliny* XII, 35, 4. Also *Dioscorides* speaks of Indian frankincense *De mat. med.* I, 81.

³ *Pliny* XIV, 15, 1, and on the use of frankincense in medicine, especially *Galenus*, *De simpl. med. temp.* VII, 30. In D. it is called *myrra*.

⁴ *Pliny* XII, 35, 4.

⁵ See I. p. 287, and Note 1. The usual Greek form is *Sáantalón*, see *ibid.*, cf. also *Galenus med.* XIV, p. 759 ed. Kuhn, where the form of names is *Sándala* which comes quite near the present one, and the *Zandana* used by *Kosmas*, p. 737, C, resembles the Indian *Chandana*.

from India to the inhabitants of the Roman empire: The Romans used the *kostos* frequently for oils, salves, and sacrifices; it also served to spice the wine; further, physicians used it as a medicine.¹ A pound of *kostos* was sold for six denarii about or 1 Thaler 5 groschin.

Although the ancients speak of Gallic, Celtic, Syrian, and other kinds of Nard, and this plant prospered also in Gedrosia² the precedence must nevertheless be attributed above all others to the Indian Nard. Leaves were called *hadrosphaeron*, 1 pound of them was paid 50 denarii; the *mesosphaeron*, cost 60 denarii; the smallest, called *microsphaeron* cost 75 denarii.³

The *nardinum* or nardsalve was composed of olive or grape-juice, balsam, rushes, *kostos*, nard, amomum, myrrh, and chesnuts; this however was a deception and the abuse had prevailed to attribute to nine other plants, which resembled the Indian nard, its name. Further, wine was spiced by an addition of nard, and at that time the Romans had commenced to wear garlands of nard-leaves. Lastly it must be mentioned that the leaves of the Nard were used also in medicine; the most effective ones were the Indian ones.⁴

In conclusion it must firstly be observed that *Bdellion* which is in the Periplus of the Red Sea called *Bdella*, can with certainty be pointed out only in India and in the adjoining Gedrosia.⁴ At the sacrifices it was mixed into the wine and served besides also as a medicine. Secondly a plant may be mentioned, the

¹ P and D. The *costamomum* here adduced by the side of *kostum* is probably a kind of amomum (on which cf. I, p. 281, Note 1) which resembled *kostos*. As this plant which is not yet more clearly determined was a product of Media and Armenia, *costamomum* was probably not brought from India. See further *Pliny XII.* 25, 1; *XIII.* 2, 8; *XIV.* 19, 6, and *XXII.* 56, 1. On the use of the *kostos* in medicine see *Dioskorides De mat. med.* I, 15 and *Galenos De simplic medic. temper.* V, 22, VII, 46; *De composit. medic. sec. loc.* VI, p. 155, ed. Kuhn.

² On these mercantile names see above p. 38.

³ *Galenos, De simplic medic. temper.* VIII, 13.

⁴ Cf. I, p. 289, on the various data and on its different names *ibid.* p. 290, Note 1; and *Pliny XII.* 19, 1, *Dioskorides De mat. med.* 1, 80 and *Galenos Ad glance. de med. meth.* II, p. 106, ed. Kuhn. *De med. temper.* V, 8 and 9, *De compos. med. par. gen.* IV, 8.

determination of which is subject to considerable difficulties. It is described as the grape of the *Amomum* which was produced by a wine growing wild; other reporters considered it as a peculiar bush which attained the height of a flat hand. The fruits were plucked with the roots, and put together in bundles, because they were very fragile. That species was most esteemed, the leaves whereof resembled those of the Punic apples but had either no wrinkles nor their red colour. It was in goodness next approached by the pale kind, still worse was a grass-like one, and the worst kind was the white one, which properly may have been a consequence of age. The *Amomum* as well as the grapes was imported to the Romans; a pound of the best kind cost 60 denarii or 11 Thlr, a pound of piece-meal *Amomum* 48 denarii or about 9 Thlr. It grew in the part of Armenia which was called Otene, in Media, and in Pontas. It was adulterated by the admixture of Punic leaves and gum, in order to make it stick together and to work itself up in the manner of grapes. Lastly there was a species, called *Amomus*, having fewer veins and less perfume, but harder than the former, whence it may be concluded that it was either another species, or that it was gathered in unripe.¹ The description fits the *cissus vitiginea* best which is by the Arabs called *hamāna* and grows in Armenia, Media and India. The second kind was probably not really one like it, but Pliny had probably single unripe specimens of the first kind in his mind.

In comparison with the mineral and the vegetable products, those of the animal kingdom which were objects of export to India, are of small importance. The elephant the most valuable animal of India, was not at all esteemed by the Emperors of Rome, because in their wars with the Parthians they could not make use of these slow animals against the swift cavalry of the Parthian armies, and because for the battles in the circus they imported elephants from Mauritania. The other Roman

¹ Pliny XII, 28, 1, foll. with the note in the ed. of Desfontaines, V, p. 42. The region of Armenia called *Otene* can not be accurately determined because the name does not occur elsewhere.

animals were of value to the Romans only inasmuch as they could be used in the Ciricensian games.¹ Further, the Indian animals produced no objects of great use to the inhabitants of the Roman empire; the only exception is silk and pearls; but these have been considered already before. Besides these and ivory, only the *lions*, *lionesses*, *panthers* and *leopards* in the Roman code of laws, and no doubt used in the Ciricensian games were important. The only other mention of an Indian animal which was carried to western nations is, that an Indian peacock was presented to a king of Egypt, no doubt to a Lagide.²

As *ivory* was also exported from Ethiopia to Rome, and likewise to other towns of the Roman Empire, it cannot be determined whether most of the ivory came from that country or from India, especially as Roman poets occasionally designate things manufactured of ivory, as Indian ones, without its being possible to conclude that they were really such.³ It is however certain from the testimony of the Alexandrian Periegete that ivory was exported also from India, and in Rome it was so greatly squandered, that large elephant teeth could not be obtained except from India, so that it was necessary also to saw up the bones of elephants in order to supply the want of real ivory.⁴ This is explained by the fact that ivory was used not only for figures, but for a number of small utensils and ornamental things.

What animals they were whose *wool* was brought to Alexandria cannot be determined, because in the Roman code of law the reading is corrupt and no body has proposed a tenable correction of it.⁵ This remark holds good also of the

¹ On this occasion I observe that the name of the elephants occurring in *Dosarene* (not *Desarene*) in the *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 35, is to be amended from *Bosare* to *Dosare*, because they as well as the district, were indebted for their name to the river *Dosaron*, the present *Failarapi* or *Kulyd*.

² *Ailianos*, *De nat. anim.* XI, 33.

³ As A. W. Von Schlegel remarks in his dissertation *On the History of the Elephant* Ind. Bibl. I, p. 144.

⁴ Pliny VIII, 4. 1.

⁵ D. it is called *marocorum lana*.

Indian horns mentioned in the same work ; they probably served for the manufacture of sieves. The *horns* mentioned in the Periplus of the Red Sea among the articles of export, were probably ox-horns, at any rate it is stated that a great ox-horn was sent from India to Ptolemy the second, although the size attributed to it must be rejected as an exaggeration.¹ Whether at that time already *Musk* was brought from India to the Roman empire, is dubious, because *castoreum* of which physicians made use, is of the castor, which was collected in Pontus and Galatia, and because the musk-deer and Musk are only mentioned by Kosmas as an Indian one, although he wrongly represents the animal as one living in Taprobane, because on the contrary it is found in Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Asam.²

Only two wares pertaining to the animal kingdom yet remain those of which we know, that they were brought from India to the western nations across the Red Sea. The first is in the Periplus of the Red Sea called *pinikón*. By it a dirty substance resembling silk is to be understood which was collected and spun from the sea-shell called *pínna*, it was weaved into various garments, gloves, stockings and the like.³ Whilst this substance was produced by an animal living at the same time on land and in the sea, namely the *tortoise*. These animals were captured partly on the small islands near the Malabar-coast named *Limyrike* by the ancients, and were partly called *chrusonetitiká*. This name is no doubt corrupt and has to be amended to *chrusonesiotiké* because the author of the Periplus of the Red Sea mentions in another place, that not far from the mouths of the Ganges an island was situated in the ocean, which is towards the East on the outermost end of the world,

¹ *Ailianos. De nat. anim*, III, 34. According to him it would be so large as to embrace three amphorns.

² *Pliny VIII, 47, 1, and XXXII, 12, 2, further Galenos De simplic. medic. temper I, 45; Antigonos* had composed a special treatise on the use of Musk ; lastly *Kosmas*, p. 335, C. He calls the animal *móachos* and the musk itself *chastouré* and asserts that the Natives call it so but this word originated probably in Asia Minor, and the second in Sanskrit, cf. I, p. 416, Note 2.

³ Therefore the word is more correctly written *rinnichón*.

and that the tortoises found there are the most excellent ones.¹ The second species of tortoises came not from this island, which was probably not a real one, but from the peninsula of Malacca which has in the later reports of the Greeks received the name of the golden peninsula of Malacca Kruse Kersónesos. As the author of the book in question did himself not come farther than the southernmost cape of anterior India, and made only hearsay statements of the Indian countries situated more to the east,² this error is easily explainable be it that he himself or his authorities are responsible for it. According to his report tortoises were caught also on the coasts of Taprobane. In favour of the veracity of this report the circumstance speaks, that on the mouths of the *Nermadd*³ large tortoises occur, as well as on the coast of Ceylon and in further India in the island *Keduba*³ whence it may be concluded that these animals were captured also on the small island of the Malabar coast as well as on the coast of Malacca. As far as the use of the tortoises is concerned they were cut into slices, their skins were used to inlay beds, plates and other objects. From the entire back skin the Indians themselves made even lyres.⁴

The conclusion of the articles of export is formed by two wares, which it is true, are not at home in India itself, but were according to the testimony of Alexandrian Periegete brought to Alexandria across India. The first are the *Serie Skins* which come, according to the remarks previously submitted on this name, from inner Asia; but what animals were flayed of them

¹ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* pp. 32, 35 and 36.

² *Cf.* II, p. 541. Hereto it must be added that he mentions before another island on the mouth of the Ganges, which is called Chryse and is probably the same as the first.

³ Ritter's *Asien* IV, 1, p. 147 and p. 580; and Edward P. Halstead's *Report on the Island of Chedocoba* in the *T. of the S. of B.* X, p. 368. Also Pliny testifies IX, 12, 1, that very large tortoises lived in the Indian Sea.

⁴ *Plin.* IX, 13, 1 and *Pausanias* VIII, 24, 9. According to him there were in the forests of Arcadia, tortoises of considerable size, of which they made lyres like the Indians.

can of course not be ascertained. This statement suffices however, to demonstrate in general that between India and High-Asia commercial connections existed or rather continued to exist, because their first beginnings go up into a much earlier time. With respect to value the second ware is by far more important, because the Romans paid an almost incredibly high price for it. They are the celebrated *murrhinian vessels*, which were according to the Report of the Alexandrian merchant, exported from Barygaza at the same time with the Onyxes.¹ The stones of which these costly vessels were manufactured, occurred in more distant but sufficiently known regions of the Parthian empire, but especially in Karmania. Some places where this material was found must be referred to East Iranian countries, because otherwise we could not explain how murrhinian vessels were exported across India. They were probably like the wares immediately afterwards adduced in the Periplus of the Red Sea, brought to Barygaza across *Poklas* or the region around *Puskala*.

The various statements of the classic authors about them, which can here not be collected or explained, may be most appropriately reconciled to each other if we assume that they have been partly river-spates, partly field-spates, partly lime-spates, partly adular-spates. They are distinguished by hardness and their lovely colours, among which purple and white were predominant. By this quality they approached precious stones. These kinds of stone were chiefly used for the manufacture of drinking and easing vessels as well as for small tables. The first murrhinian drinking vessels were by Pompey brought to Rome in his third triumph after the conquest of the nations of Asia Minor in the year 51 before Christ. After that Murrhinian vessels became soon very common, and the luxury carried on with them increased daily. One piece of *murrhinum* out of which only three

¹ *Periplus Mar. Erythr.* p. 32 and *Plin.* XXXIII, 2, 3; XXXV, 46, 1; XXXVII, 7, 1, foll. and XXXVIII, 8, 1, foll.

The last passage is the principal one.

goblets could be manufactured, each of the size of a *sextarius* containing the 48th part of an amphora, was, according to the various readings of the Ms., sold for 70,000 sesterii or nearly 4,000 Thlr, or for 70 talents which makes a little more than 2,000 Thlr. According to the context of the passage of Pliny who has preserved us this fact, the last reading is preferable and that also suffices to show the high value at that time put by the Romans on such vessels.

On the wares imported into India besides the known passages of the Periplus of the Red Sea only a few isolated ones of the classic authors at our service, which are to be used in the proper places. In the enumeration of the articles of import I shall arrange them according to the three kingdoms of nature.

From the *mineral-kingdom* the Indians received from foreigners *copper*, *lead*, and *tin*; further the Greek-Roman merchants brought valuable *silver-pieces* and *denarii* of *gold* and of *silver* which they exchanged with advantage for the indigenous coins. They carried also other Roman coins. This article is to be considered as one of the most important ones, because Indian goods were much dearer ones, and outlandish merchants were thereby compelled to take much ready cash with them in order to pay for the wares they brought in India. We have seen already what an immense sum India annually withdrew from the Roman Empire¹ and we shall afterwards find, that in several localities of India in the ruins of ancient towns Roman coins have been discovered.

To another domain of the mineral kingdom the *glass vessels* belong, which is accounted for by the great quantities of wine at that time imported into India whereon I shall afterwards communicate separate data. If this article served for the enjoyment of Indian men, the one to be mentioned next was intended for Indian women *stümme*, i. e., *sibium* was used by females to put on their eyelids and eye-brows in order to dye them black. Hereby it must be surprising that the Indians caused this article to be imported from a distance, because

¹ See above p. 4.

that custom is an ancient one among them, and the Indians themselves possess several indigenous substances, *antimony* and others, of which they prepare the *angana*. For other uses *storax*, arsenic and the flame-coloured dying substance named *sandarichè* which came from the Red Sea and is red arsenic containing sulphur, was used.¹

Corals which were according to the testimony of the author of the *Periplus* of the Red Sea imported into India, arrived there not principally from the Arabian gulf, but perhaps from the Persian one, whilst it is scarcely credible that the principal kind of it, the Gallic ones, were from the country of their origin exported to very distant India.² If the author of the Roman natural history was correctly informed, corals were as highly esteemed in India as pearls in Rome. Of the *chrysolites* it has been remarked before, that those imported into India were Ethiopic ones, because India itself was in possession of such a precious stone.³ The case is similar with the *Sardonyxes*. The Arabic gems of this kind possessed no trace at all of the *Sarde*, and the latter stones endowed with various colours were being given out for *Sardonyxes*. The ware partly of black and partly of sky-blue-like colour, either with thick white stripes, or such as approached mountain-cinnabar in brilliancy.⁴ According to the statement of *Zenodotos* these the Indians did not esteem formerly. Some of these precious stones were so large that swords were manufactured of them. The Romans liked them especially, because when used as seal-rings they retained no portion of the wax. The Roman merchants knew how to import to the Indians a taste for these precious stones, and even common people wore them on their necks. From this example and from the *Stibium* adduced above, we see that in isolated cases the Indians gave to the products of foreign countries the preference over their own. That India itself was rich in *Sardonyxes* has been shown already before.

¹Pliny XXXV, 22. cf. *Delafosse* in his ed. IX, p. 272.

²*Ibid.* XXXVII 11, 1.

³See above p. 18.

⁴Pliny XXXVII, 23, 8.

Considering the exuberant plant-treasures of India it may be supposed that foreign countries possessed but few products of this kind of advantages or otherwise attractive to the Indians. This expectation is confirmed by the phenomenon that we find but a small number of wares of the above kind mentioned as imported to the Indians by foreign merchants.

They are firstly frankincense and a costly oil or salve prepared from it. Further which is probably the Egyptian lotus the stalks where of contain a sweet edible substance which the Egyptians esteemed as very savoury.¹ The next article of import, namely *wine*, is a surprising one. It was produced not only in *Loodikeia* in Syria but even in Italy.² Still more strange is the circumstance, because wine and other intoxicating beverages are prohibited to the Indians by their laws, and the importation of wines might be considered as a deviation of the laws. This case may partly have taken place really, but especially among Indian princes, because according to the testimony of the Alexandrian merchant to one of them wine was sent as a gift. We would however be doing wrong to the Indians if we were to judge from this importation of wine, and from the assertion of *Chares* of *Mitylene*,³ a historian of Alexander the Great that the Indians were given to drinking, and that the use of wine had become usual with them; for, this statement must be rejected as a Greek fiction.

¹Vincent l. q.w. II, p. 74.

²*Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, pp. 22 and 28. The simultaneously cited Arabian wine was probably not grown in Arabia itself, but only carried through that country to India.

³ It occurs in *A thenaios* X. 49, p. 437 and in *Atlianos*, *Var. Hist.* II. 41, and from the book of the former in the *Script. Er. Alex. Magn.* ed. C. Mueller p. 18, a. According to this narrative, Alexander the Great ordered that at the festival which was celebrated at the self-cremation of *Kalanos* in Persia (on which cf. II, p. 696) a drinking competition should take place on account of the love of the Indians for wine; to the first victor a prize of one talent, the second of 30 Min and to the third of 10 was granted. The victor had swallowed four *Chods* of wine and died according to one report immediately, and according to another three days later. His name was *Promachos*; as this name means pre-fighter it is no doubt fictitious, and also the other circumstances show sufficiently that the whole tale is an invented one.

The other goods yet mentioned in the Periplus of the Red Sea as imported into India, are garments, one species whereof is indicated only in general expressions. This expression is *imatis-mosáplañs* or *nódos* also *rolúmita* or *rolúmitai*. The last word means clothes the woof whereof contained several threads in order to weave into it flowers and other figures. Here from it may be concluded that the first word means garments manufactured from single clothes; the second on the other hand, garments of a commoner sort. By the above name we may most suitably understand linen clothes, because the western nations received from India cotton as well as silk-clothes. The second kind of garments were girdles one ell long.

Of what kind the *musical instruments* were cannot be accurately ascertained; they also probably form no strict object of importation, because they are adduced as gifts to *Mumbaros* or *Akabarns* the King of Aryake.¹ To him besides, beautiful maidens for his harem were brought, who of course, were not a merchandise.

After this enumeration of the wares exported from India and of those imported into it, I pass over to their distribution among various parts. Herein I shall take the series observed in the Periplus of the Red Sea for my guide, and shall refer to the already promised explanations of the names of the wares. In the emporia not situated in India it is necessary to make a selection and to mention only such goods, of which it is certain that they were not found in India, and that they were brought to this country.

Muza, on the coast of Arabia.² Articles of importation saffron and Odónion, Exportation—A. Frankincense.

Opone on the barbarian gulf in Ethiopia.³ From the interior country of *Aryake* and *Barygaza*, or more correctly, through that town, were exported rice, *Bòuturon* or *Assafoetida*, sesame oil,

¹ On the dubious name of this king and the limits of *Aryake* cf. II, p. 855, note 1. Vincent is mistaken l. q. w. II, p. 385, when he considers him to be the king of the Indoseybhians residing in *Minagera*.

² *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*, p. 22 and on the site of *Muza* above II, p. 584.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7 and on the site of this gulf, see above p. 3.

fine woollen clothes of the kind monach and *Sakchari* or sugar in grains, flour-sugar.

In *Azania*, the island at present called Pemba on the East coast of Africa, Greeks, Indians, and Arabs had settled for trading.¹ There but few Indian merchants came from *Muzinris* or Mangalar, from *Barygaza* and *Limyrike* the ships of which were thrown there by unfavourable winds. There they sold rice, wheat, fine Indian cotton clothes and female slaves whom they occasionally also eloped with, from there, and loaded their ships with tortoises.

To *Mosyllon*, an excellent port of the Sachalitic gulf, or rather at the eastern end of it, ships occasionally sailed from *Barygaza* and *Limyrike* which were thrown by storm out of their destination, and the captains whereof spent there the whole winter if they came too late, in order immediately to be able to sail further.² With the minister of the King reigning there they bartered frankincense for fine cotton-clothes, wheat and oil.

On the Persian gulf, a little south of *Teredon*, on the western bank of the *Pasitigris*, was situated their celebrated port *Apologoi* where the merchants were treated with justice; further east, on the coast of Karmania was *Omana*, a second emporium much visited at that time.³ To both these emporia, in great ships, copper was brought, which however scarcely came from India; sandal-wood and beams of timber, probably of teak wood, horns, oil of sesame and mahogany. In India itself, we first meet with the port *Barbarikon* on a mouth of the Indus and on this river it traded with *Minnagara* which was at that time the capital of Indoscythia, and where at present Ahmedpur is situated.⁴ To it many garments manufactured of one—woof clothes and but few of the commoner sort were imported;

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 18 and *G. Bunsen's Diss. on the East coast of Zania in Africa*, p. 17.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, pp. 8 and on the site of this port cf. II, p. 534.

³ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 22 and *Markianos Heracl.*, p. 22. It is probably no other than the coast town called by *Ptolemy* VI, 8, 6, Ta Kommana or in some Ms. Ta Nommana because the site fits, and the above variants could easily originate from Ta 'Omana.

⁴ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, pp. 22 and 24.

further, clothes which were made of many roofed clothes ; further chrysolites, corals, storaxes, glass vessels, among which especially drinking vessels must be understood ; little wine, silver-things and coins. The articles of export consisted of *Kostos*, *Dellion*, *Lykion*, *Nard*, *Kallaina*, precious gems, *Seric* skins, fine cotton-clothes silk-yarn and indigo.

The most celebrated of all the Indian emporia of that time was *Barygaza* which maintained a very lively commercial intercourse with the various Indian countries as well as with foreign regions.¹ The outermost point of its commercial connexions was the country of the *Thinai* or Chinese, from which silk-clothes were brought by land to *Barygaza* by the way of *Bactria*.² Most of the fine cotton-clothes were brought from *Minnagara* ; further, *Barygaza* received from other Indian regions fine cotton-clothes and such as were of small value and were called *molichinai* besides many other yet worse kinds. From *Poklais* or the vicinity of the town *Peukela* in the vicinity of the Indus, through *Indoscythia*, the three kinds of *Nard* were brought to *Barygaza* which were called *kattyburine*, *Patropapige*, and *Kabulite* and the names whereof have been explained above.³ Besides on this way also, *Kostos* and *Bdellion* arrived. From *Paithana* or *Pratishhāna* on the upper *Godāvarī* came many onyxes and from *Tagara* in the vicinity of the present *Kalberga*, all sorts of commoner cotton-clothes. By these numerous importations the merchants of *Barygaza* were placed in a position to present a rich choice of goods to their Greek-Roman customers, as the following list shows. Thence were exported : saffron, *Lykion*, clothes dyed with lac, oil of sesame and assafoetida, sandalwood and beams which were probably of teakwood ; long pepper, *Kostos*, three kinds of *Nard*, *Bdellion*, and Indian frankincense ; cotton yarn, cotton clothes of every kind and silk goods, lastly horns and ivory. *Barygaza* furnished also contributions

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 24, 28, 29 and 36.

² It cannot but be an error when it is said that these clothes were brought from *Barygaza* to the Ganges and thence to *Lingyike*, because this would evidently have been a very useless circuit.

³ See above p. 4.

to the goods which were imported into Muza at the entrance of the Red Sea.¹ Besides, also other articles, not described more closely, were exported from Barygaza. From the Gangetic countries nards, the Malabathron obtained from raw Besadai, *pinikon* and most excellent cotton-clothes were exported by sea to *Limyrike*.²

As we have no reports at our disposal concerning the other ramifications of commercial intercourse of India with foreign lands, during the first three post-Christian centuries, and as in the east commerce is subject but to few fluctuations, and usually follows the same directions, I consider myself justified to appeal to authors of a later age in order to obtain light on this point. When the *Byzantine* emperor *Heraklios* destroyed *Dasdagerd* in the year 627 in the palace of that place, belonging to the Sassanian Chosroes the second or *Khosru Parviz*, a treasure of costly wares was found, some of which are undoubtedly of Indian origin.³ Such are *Alæ* or *Agallochum*, and large blocks of that wood weighing 18 pounds; further, pepper, ginger, and several kinds of spices, sugar; further an immense quantity of cotton drawers. Besides these the great quantity of silk and the garments made of it were probably from China, although they may also have been of Indian origin, or may have reached *Dasdagerd* through India. The conclusion drawn from this fact that already under the oldest Sassanians, commercial connections existed with India, I consider as the more admissible, as already the founder of the new Persian kingdom *Artaxerxes* the First had begun diplomatic relations with the Indian king *Samudragupta*, the objects whereof were probably more of a commercial than of a political nature.⁴

II.—The Commercial Nations.

The Fate of Commerce.

At the conclusion of the last pre-Christian and during the three first post-Christian centuries the maritime commerce from

¹ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 13.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* pp. 36 and 37, with the explanations of the report on the *Sesatai* or more correctly *Besadai* above p. 37.

³ *Kedrenos* I, p. 732 of the Bonn. ed. and *Theophanes* I, p. 494 of the sameed.

⁴ See II, p. 957.

the Red Sea with the Indian countries far surpassed in importance the other branches of Indian commerce, and only on it we possess somewhat satisfactory elucidations. In the carrying on of this commerce, to the Indian commerce at least as great a share must be attributed as to the Greek-Roman ones. As far as the fortification of the latter is concerned I first mention that since the discovery, or rather the re-discovery of the monsoon by *Hippalos*, annually fleets of merchant ships navigated from the Red Sea to Indian 'ports', secondly that the Greek and Roman merchants living in India had given to a town in the peninsula of Guzerat the name *Theophila*, and had named one of their factories on the Malabar-coast *Byzantion*, and had likewise transferred the names of localities on the coasts of Taprobane into the Greek language.¹ These facts testify to a frequent and long stay of Greek and Roman merchants in the above-mentioned regions of India. The third circumstance here coming into consideration is the existence of many narratives of such persons from which *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have drawn their exact natural, historical and geographical data about India. Hereto it must also be added that in *Muziris* or Mangalor a great many Greek merchants lived.²

The considerable participation of the Indians in maritime commerce now in question, is firstly verified by the following statements. In the island *Dioskorida*, at present called Diu Sokotora, Indians and Arabs and on the other hand but few Greeks dwelt for the sake of commerce; the population of the island consisted of these foreign colonists.³

To *Azania* on the Ethiopian coast Indian merchants from *Muziris* came.⁴ We have further seen that in the region on the Pontus, Indians lived, who sold spurious for genuine, beryls.⁵ The most important fact however is the following: the trustworthy *Cornelius Nepos* had related that to *G. Metellus*

¹ See p. 6.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ See above, p. 17.

Celer the Proconsul of Gallia, who administered that office in the year 60 B. C. some Indians were sent as presents by a king of the *Suevi* or according to another statement by a ruler of the *Boi* [*Allahi* asserts in the *Literary Central Periodical* Nr. 57, p. 91, that in passages of *Pomponius Mela* and of *Pliny Windians* must be read, and appeals to *Schaffarik's Slavonian Antiquities* German translation I, p. 115. Against this assertion the following reasons militate: Firstly, that in both authors, the reading is accredited in all manuscripts; secondly, *Pliny* says that these Indians had come *from India* which is quite incredible of the barbarian *Windians*, because they cannot be supposed to have traded with the Indians. Thirdly, it cannot be pointed out that *Slavonic* peoples had settled on the coast of the East Sea already in 60 B. C. It is at least dubious whether the *Venedi* who are also called *Veneti*, must be considered as belonging to the Fins or to the Germans. The case is quite different with the much later *Markianos* of *Harakkia*, where the reading *ei's tōn du-ndikōn kōlpon* is confirmed by Ms. Here I omit two useless footnotes] who had for commercial purposes navigated the Indian seas, and had by storms been thrown so far from their native country.¹ But as it is impossible that Indians should have sailed from their country through the Indian Ocean, and should have circumnavigated not only the whole of Africa but also the whole West-coast of Europe, and as they would moreover in this case have landed on the French or English coast we can scarcely err if we assume that those Indians had sailed across the Caspian Sea, the navigation whereof had become known already to *Herodotus*² and they had by stormy weather been thrown to the north-coast of it. Thence they probably reached the country of the *Boi*, whose prince sent them to the sovereign of the more western *Suevi* who in his turn despatched them to the Roman Proconsul of Gallia. From this well-authenticated fact we may conclude that Indian merchants personally shared in the commerce with

¹ *Pliny* II, 67, 4, *Pomponius Mela* III, 5, 8. The first calls him the king of the *Suevi*, the latter of the *Boi*.

² *Cf.* II, p. 608.

the Roman empire, which was carried on from India across Bactria, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus as far as the Black Sea.

Secondly, the embassies of Indian princes to the Roman emperor also militate against active participation of the Indians in the lucrative commerce with the Roman empire. For examples of this kind are mentioned by the classical writers. The first embassy was sent by a king of the name *Poros* to the emperor *Augustus*. Concerning the separate circumstances thereof we learn the following from *Nikolaos* of Damascus who had seen the three remaining envoys in the Syrian town Antiochia situated in the vicinity of Daphne¹.^{*} These ambassadors brought a letter of the Indian king addressed to the Roman emperor and written in the Greek language, wherein the former announced to the latter, that in spite of six hundred princes being subject to him, he still put a high value on the friendship of *Augustus*, would be ready to give admittance to his people into all ports of India and to aid them in every way. His ambassadors were accompanied by eight naked servants who wore girdles, were anointed and bore the presents destined for the Roman emperor. These gifts were the following : first the statue of a god whose arms had, beginning from the shoulders, been broken off by a boy, and which was therefore by the Greek authors compared to a *Hermes-column*, which as we know terminated in a quadrangular pillar of a pedestal. It must have been the statue of an Indian god which cannot be determined more precisely. The other presents consisted of large vipers, a serpent 10 ells, and a river turtle 3 ells long, and a great partridge. The majority of the Indian envoys had succumbed to the calamities of the distant journey.

Although on account of the insignificant presents of the Indian prince which he sent to the Roman emperor, and his assertion that he reigned over more than 600 other Indian princes, this report might be considered spurious, other grounds nevertheless induce us to consider it correct ; of course we must

[^{*} Schoff., p. 86.—*Trs.*]

¹ *Strabon* XV, 1, 73, p. 79 and from him in the *Fragments* of *Nikolaos*, in C. Mueller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* III, p. 419.

doubt whether an Indian prince made use of the Greek language, and we are inclined to suspect that his envoys had sold during the journey the more valuable portions of their gifts and had caused a Greek to write another letter. In favour of the general truth of the above narrative I first mention, that just in western India where the seat of the dominion of that *Paurava* or *Poros* is to be sought, the worship of serpents prevailed according to the testimony of the Macedonian authors.¹ It was therefore natural that the Indian prince sent to the Roman emperor an animal sacred in his country. Secondly, there is no objection to the supposition that after the death of the second Kadphises who is to be placed into the beginnings of the Christian era,² a descendant of the ancient *Pauravas* had founded an independent kingdom in the western Punjab. That 600 India princes obeyed him is evidently an exaggeration. According to the above supposition he was a contemporary of the emperor Augustus, who reigned till 14 A.C. and the reason for his embassy can have been only a commercial one, which appears already from the fact that he declared himself ready to grant to Roman subjects free admittance into his country and to aid them in their undertakings.

It may here be observed that the embassy of Peros was accompanied by a pious Buddhist whose name *Zarmanochegas* may be most suitably explained by *Śramaṇāchārya*, i.e., teacher of the *Śramaṇas*.³ As his life had hitherto passed without misfortunes he decided to renounce it, in order that in the last days of his terrestrial existence no calamity might befall him and ascended in Athens, naked and anointed, the funeral pile, and caused the following inscription to be placed over his grave: "Here reposes *Zarmanochegas* an Indian from *Bargoza*^{4*} who committed suicide according to the indigenous custom of the Indians."

¹ Cf. II, pp. 235 and 467.

² Cf. II, p. 821.

³ Wilson *Theatre of the Hindus* I, p. 15, and on the meaning of the title *Sramaṇa* see 449.

⁴ This must be an incorrect form of the well-known Barygaza.

[*Schoff. References, p. 298.—Trs.]

The second Indian embassy to a Roman emperor was brought on by the following event: A liberated slave of *Annius Plocamus* who had farmed the tolls of the Red Sea from Government, was, when sailing along the Arabian coast, thrown by north-winds to Karmania and after fifteen days into the port *Hippuros* on the north-west coast of Taprobane* where he was very graciously received by the sovereign of those ports, and remained six months.¹ To the king of Taprobane who questioned him, he gave information about the Romans and their emperor. According to the statement made to him the Singhalese monarch admired the justice of the Roman emperor, especially as the denarii brought by the Romans were of the same weight, but their effigies showed that they were of different emperors. This admiration seems to have arisen from the fact that the art of coining money had in that island made a smaller progress than in the Roman empire. No matter how the case stood, on account of this circumstance the king of Taprobane conceived friendly sentiments towards the Roman emperor and sent to him four ambassadors the principal of whom was called *Rachias*. As this name may be most appropriately explained by *rājan* or king, and this word may also be used for men of the royal race. *Rachias* probably belonged to the king's family, and accordingly we do not learn what his proper name was.² From this ambassador Pliny received very complete informations about Taprobane which can be discussed only in the following section; it will here suffice that at that time *Claudius* who reigned from 41 till 54 A. C. was the emperor of Rome; of the king of Taprobane it may be left undecided whether it was *Chandramukhasiva* who reigned from 44 till 52 A.C. or *Yasolālakatisya* who reigned after him till 60 A.C.,³ although most probably it was the

[* *Ante.*—Trs.]

¹ *Pliny* VI, 24, 4. foll. In the next section I shall show that in the Singhalese language this port bears the synonymous name *Kudre Male*, i.e., horse-mountain, and I shall accurately determine its position.

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³ *Cf.* II, XXIX.

former because the latter had ascended the throne shortly before the death of Claudius.

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The object of the third embassy is not clear, because only short notices of it have reached posterity. From the Indians who belonged to this embassy, and of whom one was called *Damadamis* and the other Sandones, the well-known gnostic *Bardesanes* obtained his knowledge of the Brahmanians and Samaneans.¹ This embassy was not, as has been supposed before, addressed to the emperor *Antoninus Hilliogabalus*, who reigned from 218 till 220 A.C. but to the emperor *Antoninus Pius* who sat from 158 till 181 A.C. on the throne of the Roman emperors. As on a later occasion the informations preserved so as from the writing of Bardesanes about Indian things, will have to be used, it will be proper to communicate from the life of this gnostic what is most important.² Bardesanes, or in Syrian Bar Desan, i.e., son of Desan, was born in Edessa, at all events before 154 A.C. When the emperor *Antoninus Verus* was in Syria he dedicated to him his book on Destiny. The Indian embassy with the members whereof he had intercourse in Babylon, was sent to the emperor Antoninus Pius who reigned from 158 till 181 A.C. To conclude from the name of one of the ambassadors of Sandanes, the Indian king who had despatched this embassy, reigned over the portion of the Malabar-coast, which was called *Aryake** of the *Sadanoi* and

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² *Bardesanes Gnosticus, Syrorum Hymnologus scriptis* it Augustus Hahn 1819. Heeren in his notes to *Stobaeus Ecl. Phys. 120* in his ed, p. 149 wrongly assumed an older Syrian and a later Babylonian Bardesanes.

[* Schoff., pp. 24, 27, 39, 70, 87, 174, 175, 210.—Trs.]

The second Indian embassy to a Roman emperor was brought on by the following event: A liberated slave of *Annus Plocamus* who had farmed the tolls of the Red Sea from Government, was, when sailing along the Arabian coast, thrown by north-winds to Karmania and after fifteen days into the port *Hippuros* on the north-west coast of Taprobane* where he was very graciously received by the sovereign of those ports, and remained six months.¹ To the king of Taprobane who questioned him, he gave information about the Romans and their emperor. According to the statement made to him the Singhalese monarch admired the justice of the Roman emperor, especially as the denarii brought by the Romans were of the same weight, but their effigies showed that they were of different emperors. This admiration seems to have arisen from the fact that the art of coining money had in that island made a smaller progress than in the Roman empire. No matter how the case stood, on account of this circumstance the king of Taprobane conceived friendly sentiments towards the Roman emperor and sent to him four ambassadors the principal of whom was called *Rachias*. As this name may be most appropriately explained by *rājan* or king, and this word may also be used for men of the royal race. *Rachias* probably belonged to the king's family, and accordingly we do not learn what his proper name was.² From this ambassador Pliny received very complete informations about Taprobane which can be discussed only in the following section; it will here suffice that at that time *Claudius* who reigned from 41 till 54 A. C. was the emperor of Rome; of the king of Taprobane it may be left undecided whether it was *Chandramukhasiva* who reigned from 44 till 52 A.C. or *Yasolalakatisya* who reigned after him till 60 A.C.,³ although most probably it was the

[* *Ante*.—Trs.]

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less correctly *Sandanoi*.¹ Bardesanes was the founder of a gnostic sect and distinguished himself as a poet of hymns in the Syrian language. Of his various writings only one need be mentioned here, namely that entitled, *Indiké*.

Although the fourth Roman Emperor, of whom we learn that Indian envoys were sent to his court, reigned later than 319 A.C., with which year by the elevation of the *Ballabhi* dynasty a turning took place in the political history of India, I do nevertheless not at all hesitate here to mention this event because the establishment of that Indian dominion had exerted no small influence on the fate of the Graeco-Roman maritime commerce. Besides there is no suitable opportunity for mentioning the embassies sent from India to the court of the Roman emperor. When the fame of the emperor Indianus had, on account of his wisdom, bravery, and other virtues, spread far beyond the world known at that time, even the most distant nations sent him envoys out of respect.² Among these, the Indian nations also sent their principal men as ambassadors with presents to this king; especially the *Serendivi* and *Divi* are named. By the former the inhabitants of *Simhaladvīpa* or Ceylon are to be understood, which island is by Kosmas called *Sielediva*.³ The *Divi* cannot have been the inhabitants of the island Dni Sokotora on the African coast, which has been thought of, but of the *Maldives* on the south-western coast of India in the vicinity of Ceylon. As peoples living not far from the limits of the Roman empire may have been induced by fear to gain the favour of the Roman emperor by gifts, and ambassadors, this reason was entirely absent from the inhabitants of the distant Indian islands, and we may suppose that commercial reasons had induced the Serendives to offer their homage to the Roman emperor.

¹ According to *Aurelianus Victor Epit.* XV, 4, who gives the following passage: "Even the Indians, Bactrians, and Hyrcanians sent envoys when they had heard of the justice of so great an Emperor," It must have been *Antoninus Pius* and not *Heliogabalus* or *Elagabal* who assumed the epithet *M. Aurelius Antoninus* and reigned from 218 till 222 A.C.

² *Ammianus Marcellinus* XXII, 7, 10. He places the embassies into the year 362.

³ Cf. I, p. 201, Note 3.

In the next place, one must consider the manner in which navigation to India was carried on. On this subject the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea*, and of the *Roman Natural history* present the most satisfactory elucidations. On the more ancient circumstances of these voyages to India, before the west-monsoon had again been discovered and used for the acceleration of the voyages, I have already made the necessary statements above¹ and need here only describe the perfected condition.

The departure from Egypt took place in the middle of the month of July.² In about 30 days the merchantmen reached the ports *Okelis* and *Kane* * at the end of the Red Sea; both were situated on the Arabian coast.³ From here the navigators took three roads. Some sailed to the mouths of the Indus and particularly to the port *Barbarikon*; others to *Barygaza*, the chief emporium of Roman Indian maritime commerce; lastly others to *Muziris*† and to other emporia situated more to the south. The approach of the mouths of the Indus was made known to the navigators by two signs,⁴ namely by the white colour of the sea-water, which it obtained from the admixture of the river-water; further by the sight of the serpents of that region. The latter were in the language of the country called *graa*i. These certainly will have to be understood not to mean serpents but alligators, many of which occur in the Indus and are also worshipped by the inhabitants of Sind.⁵ The corresponding Sanskrit-word *graha* means among other things an evil spirit, which is said to appear to children and to cause them cramps; in the present case it probably did not have this

¹ See. above, p. 3.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 8. *Plin.* VI, 26, 9, and II, p. 591, Note 1.

[*Schoff., p. 116.—Trs.]

³ Cf. II, p. 583, Note 2. *Okelis* was situated in the straits of *Babel Mandeb*. According to the *Periplus* the ships called also at a port of the *Kinnameum-Coast*; see. above, p. 3.

[† Schoff., pp. 44, 128, 203-5, 208, 212, 233.—Trs.]

⁴ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 21.

⁵ T. Postan's *Personal Observations on Sind*, p. 113.

meaning but the etymological one of catching, because alligators are known to be very greedy. Of the seven mouths of the Sindhu at that time only the middle one was navigable; on it the abovementioned port was situated, which the ships reached by several channels. From it the wares were conveyed on the river to *Minragara* which was at that time the capital of the Indoscythians and is the present *Ahmedpur*. No doubt also the port Barbarikon¹ received freight from it by way of the river.

To the voyage from the Indus-mouths towards the south-east the nature of the sea of those ports and the shore bounding it, presented great dangers. The salt-marsh *Irina* and the bay of Kachchha which the author of the Periplus calls the great and the small Irinou, whilst the Alexandrian geographer calls the latter the gulf of *Kanthi*, had many shoals into which ships easily went astray and became fixed, whereon they were broken up by the billows of the sea. Equal dangers were caused by subsequent so-called sea-bay on the northern point of the peninsula of Gujerat, which was by the Alexandrian Periegete called *Barakes* and contained seven islands; these are at present called Bate. The ebbs and floods of the sea are there great and violent; the sea itself is stormy and full of currents and whirlpools; the depth of the sea is in some places steep and in others rocky. A consequence thereof was, that when the ships sailed into the inside of this bay, the anchors as they were thrown either broke on the rocks or did not reach the bottom of the sea. Only the navigators who shunned this dangerous bay saved their vessels from this danger, whilst those who did not do so, lost theirs. A sign of the vicinity of this ill-boding coast was a kind of large black serpents swimming on the sea, whilst those which appeared in the vicinity of Barygaza or more to the south were small, grey or greyish.

Also the next following portion of the Indian shore presented considerable difficulties to the Indiamen. After doubling it the navigators reached the centre of the gulf of Barygaza which is at present called the Bay of Cambay. On its entrance at the eastern point of the peninsula of Gujerat the two promontories

[¹ Schoff., pp. 37, 39, 128, 155, 270.—Tr.]

*Astakampron** and *Trapera* were situated.¹ This portion of the sea was greatly exposed to currents. North of those promontories the small island *Baionis* was situated which is at present called Perin. The entrance into the mouth of the Narmadā, on which river Barygaza is situated, was arduous, the ships could steer to the right, i.e., more south or to the left, i.e., more north, the latter side of the mouth could be more easily navigated; because on the northern side there was a coarse rocky shoal called *Heronet* in the vicinity of the village *Kammoni* where at present Dey is situated.² Opposite to it on the south side of the river-mouth the promontory called *Papikeś* was situated, which afforded on account of the violent splashings of the sea its considerable depth and its rocky bottom, only an insecure anchorage.³ Hereto it must also be added that the coasts of the river-mouths are low and their vicinity is to be recognized by marks. Also when the entrance was discovered, the banks in the mouth of the river rendered the sailing into it arduous. In order to protect merchantmen from these dangers, the king of the country had ordered the fishermen to sail to meet them in their long vessels partly called *Trappaga* and partly *Kotymba* as far as the vicinity of *Syastrene†* or the peninsula of Gujerat, and then to guide them into the port.⁴ These pilots led the

[* Schoff., pp. 39-40.—Trs.]

¹ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, pp. 24 and 25. In the first passage the name of the first cape is only *Asta*, in the second, no doubt, more correctly *Astakampron* because in Sanskrit *Asta* means west, and is therefore opposed to an eastern *Kampron* (situated on the opposite coast of the continent) which must have been on the site of the present *Cambay*, because in the vernaculars *Kampron* necessarily became *Kamba*. The termination was probably altered by the Portuguese, in whose language *bahia* means a port.

† [Schoff., pp. 39, 182.—Trs.]

² It is in Ptolemy VII, 1, 4 called *Kammanesi*.

[§ Schoff., pp. 39, 40, 181.—Trs.]

³ The name must, in Sanskrit, have been *Pāpika* sinful, malicious, and refers, in this case, to the ill-boding cape.

[‡ Schoff., pp. 39, 40, 175, 176.—Trs.]

⁴ I have, in II, p. 539, Note 2, observed, that the first name is probably to be explained from *trapāka* by which word there, the fishermen's caste was designated, and which may therefore have been transferred to their vessels, and

ships first through the shallow passages of the river-mouths; then they warped the ships from one station to the other; these stations were all known and determined. Then they lifted the anchors with the beginning of the flood, and in the beginning of the ebb they stopped in such places where the water possessed a sufficient depth.

At that time Barygaza possessed the most extensive commercial connections of all Indian towns, as I have pointed out above more accurately.¹ This advantage it obtained not only from its favourable position, but also from the special favour shown to it by Aryakes, the then ruler, *Sadanes* who was the founder of the new dynasty of the *Sadanoi* as will afterwards appear. During the time of his predecessor Saraganos, the more southern *Kalliana** had become a much frequented and celebrated emporium; at the time of the presence of the Alexandrian Periegete the commerce there had been already since sometime interrupted, and *Sadanes* who had at that time usurped the power in Barygaza, caused the Greek ships who accidentally arrived there, to be manned by his own people, and compelled them to sail to Barygaza. Somewhat afterwards *Simylla* which the Indians called *Timylla* became a much frequented port, where foreign merchants stayed for a longer time.²

The coast following south of Aryake was dangerous to navigators on account of the multitude of pirates who haunted it. It was therefore avoided by them, but especially the port *Naura** or *Honavera*† (onort) where the chief seat of the pirates was.³ On the other hand the more southern port *Muzires*§ or *Mangalor* was frequently visited by Greek merchants as well as

that on the other hand, the second name cannot be derived from the Sanskrit word *Kufumba*.

¹ See above, p. 53.

[*Schoff., p. 197.—Trs.]

² *Ptol.* I, 17, 3.

† [Schoff., pp. 44, 203.04.—Trs.]

³ *Pliny* VI, 26, 9, where the reading *Nitreas* is to be corrected to *Naura*; also in *Ptolemy* VII, 1, 7, *Nitra* as I shall show below.

[§ *Ante*.—Trs.]

Nelkynda or *Nileśvara*. They were chiefly attracted by the goodness of the pepper which grew there. Here also the *Indiamen* arriving from the high sea were apprised of the proximity of the shore, by a kind of serpents which were black, but somewhat smaller, and resembling proper serpents more in the structure of their bodies; they had besides bluish red eyes. At the mouth of the small river on which *Nelkynda* is situated, there was a village called *Barake* where the ships took in their cargoes.¹ Besides, the navigation was easy to not heavily laden vessels. At the time when the Greek merchant, to whom we are indebted for these data, visited India, to *Nelkynda* also from *Taprobane* goods were sent, which island was afterwards much frequented by Greek-Roman merchants. In *Barake** they purchased the best sort of pepper, which was brought in canoes made of one trunk of a tree, from the region called *Kottanara*.² *Muziris* yet later maintained its rank among Indian emporia, at the time when the Theban lived from whose communications the author of the treatise addressed to *Palladios*, drew his notion about the Brahmins. The merchants of that port traded not only with *Taprobane* but also with *Abys-Sinia* where the goods were brought from a port on the coast of the *Troglonytes* to *Axum*§ in *Abysinia*.³

From *Balita* or *Kalikāt* we learn in the *Periplus* only that it possessed an excellent port, and of *Komar*, the port in *Cape Komorin*, that the sanctity of the place attracted also merchants.⁴

As the *Alexandrian Periegete* did not reach further than the last mentioned emporium, and could only so far describe the state of Roman-Indian maritime commerce as an ocular witness,⁵ we have no such correct statements concerning it on the *Coromandel-coast* and in *Further-India*. From other

¹ Cf. II, p. 541, Note 1. The village was also called *Ela-Barake*.

[* Schoff., pp. 38, 39, 174, 175.—Trs.]

² Pliny. VI, 26, 1, and on the name *Kottonara* see above, p. 34.

[§ Schoff. References, p. 297.—Trs.]

³ *Pseudo-Callisthenes* Book III, 7, 8, 103 in C. Mueller's ed.

⁴ *Periplus Mar. Erythr.*, p. 33.

⁵ Cf. above II, p. 541.

similar writings Pliny has preserved us the information, that in the second half of December or in the first of January, at which season already the north-east monsoon had begun to blow, the Indiamen began their voyages from the ports of the Malabar coast and therefore reached Egypt within the same year.¹

Soon after the presence of the Alexandrian Periegete in India the commerce of Taprobane with the Roman Empire began to enjoy a great development, which was principally brought on by a Singhalese King who entered into connections with the Emperor Claudius, through an embassy, which has already been mentioned.² From the examination of the description of this island by Ptolemy it will result, that to several localities of it Greek names were given, from which a more frequent and long sojourn of Greek merchants in them, can be concluded. In the navigation between Taprobane and the continent ships with double prows were used which could load nearly 3,000 amphoras. There were shallows of six paces with deep channels in which the anchors could not reach the bottom. Therefore the ships were dragged by them hither and thither.³ From *Taprobane* elephants, which are known to be abundant in that island, were in great ships brought to *Kalinga*.⁴

On the further navigation from Taprobane to the Ganges-country, *Pliny* has preserved us the following report, in which however there must be a misunderstanding.⁵ He says namely that the navigation from Taprobane to the Prasian nation had before lasted twenty days, but that it had afterwards been estimated seven days, because ships of papyrus and their equipments, such as

¹ *Pliny* VI, 26, 16 and on the north-east monsoon, *cf.* I, p. 213. This statement must have been drawn from a book the author whereof lived in Egypt, because the mouths are designated by the Egyptian names *Tybi* and *Mechris*. The 6th *Mechris* answers to our 13th January.

² See above, p. 16.

³ *Pliny* VI, 24, 1.

⁴ *Alianos, De nat. anim.* XVI, 8.

⁵ VI, 22, 2.

current on the Nile, were used, and that these ships sailed as swiftly as the Roman ones. The Egyptians built their ships of Cyperus Papyrus and manufactured of its rind sails and ropes.¹ But as that shrub does not grow in India, we must suppose the ships mentioned to have been built of an Indian tree. Perhaps by it the Dup tree must be understood or the fir-varnish tree from which the Singhalese build ships.² The ropes were undoubtedly made of the fibres of the bark and especially from the strong fibres of the cocoanut-shell and are called *coir*; they are distinguished by their great strength. As the hemp tree grows in Ceylon, the sails were probably made of hemp. We must further imagine the ships to have been larger than those used on the Nile. The Indians possessed such, which were large enough to embark 500 merchants at the same time.³ That by the name Prasians the country on the Ganges must be understood, appears because it must be explained from the Sanskrit word *prāchya*, which word can in this case not designate the previously celebrated people of the Prasians, but only an eastern nation; the inhabitants near the Ganges are precisely the easternmost Indians.

Before I am able to terminate this portion of the history of commerce, I must collect the few statements, which the Alexandrian Periegete communicates on the state of maritime commerce on the Coromandel coast and thence to the Ganges-country. He knew only three emporia on the east coast of anterior India, *Kamāra*, § *Poduke* † and *Sōpatma*, † of which only the second can be determined more accurately; it answers to the present Pulikat.⁴ Here the ships of the region of the

¹ Herodotos II, 96 and Pliny XIII, 22, 2.

² John Edge's *Description of the various Classes of Vessels constructed and employed by the Natives of the Coasts of Coromandel, Malabar and the Island of Ceylon*. J. E. A. S. I., p. 13.

³ Cf. II, p. 543.

§ [Schoff. pp. 80, 202-4.—Trs.]

† [Ibid, 46, 242.—Trs.]

† [Ibid, 46, 422.—Trs.]

⁴ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 34, and Ptol. VII, 1, 14.

Malabar coast called *Limyrike* met those which arrived there from the more northern ports. In the navigation from here along the coast, to *Limyrike*, the natives made use of vessels, made of single trunks of trees and called *Sangara*. For the further voyage to the Ganges-months and to *Chryse* larger ships were required; these latter ones were called *Kolandio-phonta*.¹ The port whence the merchants began their voyages to *Chryse*, was situated there, where at present *Kalingapatana* or *Chikakol* is situated. Later, in Ptolemy's time they started from *Palura*, the present *Naupara* to the south of the *Mahānada*, and steered obliquely across the Bay of Bengal to *Sada* or *Dvayavatī* (*Than-dwai*). In this ramification of Indian commerce the western merchants took part only after the time in which the Alexandrian *Periegete* visited India. When Ptolemy compared his geography, a certain *Alexandros* had reached *Kattigara* or *Canton*, and also in the following time isolated merchants from the Roman empire arrived there; their voyages to it and in general to Further-India were in general not frequent, and the chief share in the commerce between anterior India on the one hand, and Further-India and the Indian Archipelago on the other, must be accorded to the Indians, on account of their many settlements in these regions, which I have already indicated before.²

Besides, a statement contained in a Chinese book also militates³ against a frequent intercourse with Further-India. According to it the connections between China and India had been interrupted during the reign of the *Wei* and the *Tsin* from 220 till 419 A.C. only under the dynasty of the *Ou* between 222 and 227 A.C. *Fan-Chen*, the king of *Fou-nan* or *Siam*, sent one of his relatives, of the name of *Sou-we*, as ambassador to India. He embarked at the mouth of the

¹ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 34, and on the names of these ships of II, p. 543, Note 4. *Chryse* answers nearly to the present *Pegu*; the limits I shall point out more accurately in the following sections.

² See above, p. 6.

³ Stanislas Julien: "*Notices of Foreign Countries and Peoples drawn from Chinese Geographies and Annals.*" J. A. IVth series X, p. 97.

Tu-keu-li, no doubt the Menam-river, and then sailed along the coast till a large gulf situated to the north-east, i.e., to the Bay of Bengal, and thence he visited also kingdoms situated on the coast of India. Lastly he reached the mouth of the Indus, up which he sailed, and reached in one year the term of his mission. The king there reigning, was rejoiced at the embassy of so distant a monarch and sent him two officers, who brought four costly horses from the Youei-tihi country as a sign of the gratitude of their royal master. There the two Indian envoys met an ambassador of the emperor *Ou*, whose name was *Khang-thai* and title *Kong-long*. The latter questioned the Indians about their country. Of their communications only one need be adduced here, which is to the effect that in India merchants arrived in great numbers by land and by sea. Thence they brought goods of the highest value, and among others, also beautifully worked vessels.

If it be considered that one of the two extreme points of this commerce, i.e., Canton, was in the east, and Rome in the west, then it is clear that at that time a real commerce of the world was carried on through India. For the propagation of Indian goods on the Mediterranean Sea, Alexandria necessarily became the centre, because by far the greatest number of Indian products reached that port by way of the Red Sea. In this branch of Indian commerce western merchants naturally took the greatest share; but also the Indians, many of whom stayed in Egypt for the sake of commerce, as shall afterwards appear. It may here first be pointed out that to the *Nabataeans** but a small share in the commerce between the Roman empire and the Indian countries can be allowed. At that time already they possessed the country of the *Idumaens*, and consequently the ports Elath or Ailana and Ezion† Geber, from which in the oldest times the Ophar-voyages of the Phoenicians took their beginning.¹ Their capital *Petra* ‡ which was

[* Schoff., pp. 11, 29, 51, 60, 80, 102, 103, 104, 109, 200.—Trs.]

† [Schoff., p. 260.—Trs.]

¹ Cf. II, p. 584, foll. and p. 595.

‡ [Schoff., pp. 4, 6, 29, 101-103, 109, 138.—Trs.]

situated not far to the north from those ports in the interior, had a very favourable position for the intermediate commerce between the western countries on the one and between southern Arabia and Babylon on the other hand.¹ The Nabataeans appeared in the centuries which now engage our attention as intermediate traders between the Mindans in eastern Arabia and the *Gerrhaens* on the Persian gulf. As among the goods which were by these peoples brought to Petra, also perfumes are mentioned,² it may be presumed that Indian ones were also among them, especially as India furnished the articles of this kind most esteemed in commerce. Accordingly there is no objection against the view of a well-informed describer of the region in which the Nabataeans dwelt, that they obtained many Indian goods and sent them further.³ The Nabataeans however soon excluded the Mindans from the practice of this commerce and afterwards appeared as that Arab nation which most zealously carried on commerce and acquired for its trading enterprizes the greatest extension. This appears especially from the numerous colonies of the Nabataeans, only two of which it will here suffice to mention,⁴ namely, first *Leukekome** the present Houra on the western coast of Arabia, a little north of Tambo, the post of Medina. If secondly the Nabataeans appear as inhabitants of Arabia Felix⁵ this report can be understood only so that they had there settled a part of their nation in order to keep up the commerce with their northern tribesmen. Probably they made land-commerce the chief object of their activity; it is at least testified that they had taken possession of several islands in the Red Sea in order to plunder from them

¹ That Petra was connected with Babylon by a road, appears from *Strabon* XVI 4, 2, p. 767. See besides, Ritter's explanations in *Asien* VII, 1, p. 124, foll.

² *Strabon* XVI 4, 18, p. 776 and on the peoples mentioned in the text cf. II, pp. 595 and 600.

³ Léon De Laborde's *Journey in Arabia Petra*, p. 18.

⁴ Ritter (*Asien* VIII, 1, p. 117, foll.) has accurately pointed out the settlements of the Nabataeans.

⁵ [Schoff, pp. 101, 103.—Tra.]

⁶ *Stephanos* of Byz.

the Indiamen sailing from Egypt but were punished for it by the Ptolomœans.¹ Hereto it must be added that they possessed no great ships but only small vessels and rafts.² It is possible that in later times also they attempted to molest the navigators of the Red Sea. To them probably the statement refers that Indiamen took with them cohorts of archers.³ That the Romans brought goods from Petra admits of no difficulty. According to the preceding remarks the Nabataeans can be considered only as mediators in a small portion of the Roman maritime commerce. The chief port in it must be reserved to the Indians, Greeks, and Romans.

If I have asserted before that the Indians were zealously engaged in the commerce carried on from Alexandria to the western countries, that assertion is confirmed by the following surprising fact. Indian wares came to the coasts of Lacedæmonia and the Indians exchanged theirs for the goods there deposited by the Greeks.⁴ Herefrom it does not follow, as the author who has preserved us this statement believes, that in spite of their riches in gold and silver the Indians knew not how to coin money, because they already possessed it, but from this fact it may be concluded that Indian merchants had settled in Alexandria and had procured ships, on which they conveyed the products of their country not only to Lacedæmonia, but also to other countries situated on the Mediterranean Sea.

An indirect argument for the lively commercial intercourse between Egypt and the Indus country occurs in the description of a statue of the river *Indos* by *Kalistratos* who had about the year 250 A.C. described several statues.⁵ From reasons to be afterwards adduced it will result that it must have been placed by an Egyptian or Greek merchant, who had often come to the country situated on the Indus, had made this lucrative business and had in gratitude thereof caused in his own country a statue

¹ *Diodorus* III, 43, and *Strabon* XVI, 4, 18, p. 777.

² *Pliny* XII, 44, 1.

³ *Pliny* VI, 24, 8.

⁴ *Pausanias* III, 12, 4, and on his edition cf. II, p. 48.

⁵ See p. 894 in the ed. of the works of both Philostrati by Olearius.

situated not far to the north from those ports in the interior, had a very favourable position for the intermediate commerce between the western countries on the one and between southern Arabia and Babylon on the other hand.¹ The Nabataeans appeared in the centuries which now engage our attention as intermediate traders between the Mindans in eastern Arabia and the *Gerrhaens* on the Persian gulf. As among the goods which were by these peoples brought to Petra, also perfumes are mentioned,² it may be presumed that Indian ones were also among them, especially as India furnished the articles of this kind most esteemed in commerce. Accordingly there is no objection against the view of a well-informed describer of the region in which the Nabataeans dwelt, that they obtained many Indian goods and sent them further.³ The Nabataeans however soon excluded the Mindans from the practice of this commerce and afterwards appeared as that Arab nation which most zealously carried on commerce and acquired for its trading enterprizes the greatest extension. This appears especially from the numerous colonies of the Nabataeans, only two of which it will here suffice to mention,⁴ namely, first *Leukehome** the present Houra on the western coast of Arabia, a little north of Tambo, the post of Medina. If secondly the Nabataeans appear as inhabitants of Arabia Felix⁵ this report can be understood only so that they had there settled a part of their nation in order to keep up the commerce with their northern tribesmen. Probably they made land-commerce the chief object of their activity; it is at least testified that they had taken possession of several islands in the Red Sea in order to plunder from them

¹ That Petra was connected with Babylon by a road, appears from *Strabon* XVI 4, 2, p. 767. See besides, Ritter's explanations in *Asien* VII, 1, p. 124, foll.

² *Strabon* XVI 4, 18, p. 776 and on the peoples mentioned in the text cf. II, pp. 595 and 600.

³ Léon De Laborde's *Journey in Arabia Petra*, p. 11.

⁴ Ritter (*Asien* VIII, 1, p. 117, foll.) has accurately pointed out the settlements of the Nabataeans.

* [Schoff., pp. 101, 103.—Trs.]

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to be made and to be erected to Indos. That statue was situated near a spring and was an offering made to the nymphs. It corresponded to the character of the river and was made of blackish marble; the river-god had rich and loose hair, the colour of which was not brilliantly black, but the Syrian purple snail preponderated, because the hairs, so to say, moistened and arranged by the adjoining nymphs showed a dark colour at the roots, whilst their points were softened resembling the colour of purple. The eyes were but little suitable for a marble statue because from the pupil a white matter dripped out. On this spot the marble had naturally a white colour, and this representation was intentional because the water of the Indos is predominantly white. The god was represented as drunk, by the colour of the river, because the black colour prevailed. In agreement therewith the god was portrayed tottering and intoxicated like a man who does not stand securely on his feet. Besides, this statue had nothing soft and ornamental, but was distinguished by a correct modelling of the members. The god was quite nude, because on account of the heat of their country the Indians are said to throw off their garments.

If I have before assured that the statue in question was not erected by an Indian but by an Egyptian or Greek, I support that supposition by the fact, that at that time the *Sindhu* was by the Indians not reckoned, among the sacred rivers, but that on the other hand to it, to the *Hydaspes* and to the *Akesines* sacrifices were offered by Alexander the Great when navigating them, and that on the coins of the Indoscythian princes *Mayes* and *Ases* the river Indus was delineated; similarly on the coins of foreign kings.¹ Herefrom it may be concluded, that only among foreign nations the river Indus was really represented by figures, and that therefore its statue described by Kalistratos was not erected by an Indian. If further, the Greek describer of the statue of the Indus meant, that he is represented as drunk, the circumstance is explainable from the circumstances that the Greek artist thought of the expedition of *Dionysos*

¹ Cf. I. pp. 167, 370, Note 2, and p. 380, Note 10.

to India, in which he was surrounded by his intoxicated Bacchantes and nymphs. This is also the reason why the statue of the Indus was erected at a spring dedicated to the nymphs.¹ If Kalistratos wishes to explain its nudity from the circumstance that the Indians walked about naked, this must be considered as an attempt to adduce a witty remark, which is however out of place, because even the Gymnosophists did not entirely renounce clothing.

It is founded not only in the political relations of those times, that the capital of the whole Roman empire received the Indian goods necessarily through Egypt,² but that country was also situated on the shortest route from Rome to India. Accordingly this portion of the Roman-Indian commerce forms the most material part of it and must have been by far mostly commerce by sea. On the *commerce by land* between the provinces of the Roman empire and India, there are but a few isolated notices at our command, and it is not possible to give even a tolerably complete report on it, but an attempt must be made by the aid of scattered data, to give a short review of this branch of Indian commerce. Hereby it must not be overlooked that we are entitled to conclude from the circumstance of an Indian article having been brought to a country standing under the sceptre of the Roman empire, that this was the case also with the products of India. From India and Arabia, or more correctly across this country, cardamoms were conveyed to Kommagene, Armenia and the Bosphoros³ and thence also probably further to the west. Moreover, a frequent intercourse must have subsisted between Cappadocia and India, because during the reign of Tiberius, king *Archelaos*, the king of that country who was under his supremacy, caused amber to be brought for himself from India.⁴ From the political

¹ Cf. the note of Heyna to the *Images of the Philostrati and the Statues of Callistratus*. Edited by Fredrick Jacob, p. 589.

² See above p. 2.

³ *Diodorides* I, 5.

⁴ *Pliny* XXXVII, 11, 13, and above p. 32.

circumstances of that time it may be concluded that the smallest portion of the Indian goods was conveyed to the northern countries across the Persian gulf and along the Euphrates, because the mouths of this river were in the power of the Arsakides and the regions near it were the usual battlefield of the Roman and Parthian armies. According to a remark made above, the Parthian kings placed obstacles in the way of the Roman commerce,¹ and merchants probably shunned the route along the Euphrates, because it led through countries, in which the security of their property was jeopardised. Accordingly we shall not be mistaken if we suppose the great caravan of wares from India to have followed the high-way which led from India through Kabulistan, and afterwards through Bactria. At the time of the Alexandrian Periegete its final point was *Minagara*, the capital of Indoseythia, in the south of the Five-river-country, the present Ahmedpur, and passed first through the region of the *Aratrioi*, the *Arattas* or *Arástras* of the Indian in the Punjab, then the country of the *Arachoten* and *Gandhāra* on the west bank of the Indus as far as *Poklais* or *Puškau*.² In Bactria the route was split into three: the one leading to inner-Asia does not just now concern us. Of the two others the one passed through Herat and through *Hekatonpilon*, the capital of the Parthians to Ekbatana in Media, and thence through the gates of the Zagros to Chala. Of the three routes leading further, herefrom, only the northernmost is to be considered which proceeds to Armenia, Kilikia, Kappadokia and other countries of Asia Minor.³ On this route no doubt the *Aorser* brought the Indian wares from Media and Armenia and

¹ See above, p. 2.

² *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, pp. 26, 27 and 28, with the corrected reading II, p. 159, and Notes 1 and 2 A—*Schwanbecks'* remarks on this passage in the *Rhein. Mus. Philol.* New series VII, p. 329. In this passage the Periegete erroneously ascribes the town *Eukephala* founded by Alexander the Great to Poklais. I remark on this occasion, II, p. 521, l. 2. We m^{ss} instead of, on a navigable branch of the river, read, on the middle river. 22

³ Cf. above II, p. 529.

carried them to the inhabitants of the shores of the Black Sea.¹ As the Parthian kings of Armenia often sought and found protection at the courts of Roman emperors, they probably also aided merchants in their enterprizes, when they traded in the Roman provinces. The final point of this line of merchandise was probably *Sinope* on the north coast of Asia Minor. My views for this opinion I shall give afterwards.

On the second route leading from Bactria, the Indian goods were on the Oxus brought to the Caspian Sea, and after passing over it they were landed on the opposite shore. From here they arrived in five days on the Phasis on which they were conveyed to the Black Sea, where on the mouth of the river of the same name the Greek colony of the same name, and further to the north *Dioskurias* was situated.² As the Aorsi possessed a large region north of the Caspian sea yet in the second century³ he probably participated also in this ramification of *land-commerce* between India and the western countries. That Indians also did it has been shown before.⁴ On the ulterior conveyance of Indian articles of commerce to the western countries from the above-mentioned Greek colonial towns, we have no express testimonies of the ancients; several other circumstances however show, that *Sinope* in Paphlagonia was a centre of commerce between the regions of the Black Sea and between the countries washed by the Mediterranean Sea.

This town had a highly favourable position for commerce, because it was situated on a peninsula, and possessed two ports. Its inhabitants had several colonies on the Black Sea, such as *Trapezos* and others. Therefore it was by *Mithridates Eupator* or the Great, made the capital of his kingdom, and even in *Strabo's* time it was yet a splendid, strongly fortified town.⁵ For the very extensive commerce of the Sinopians with other

¹ See hereon, above, p. 619.

² Cf. II, p. 531.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 619.

⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵ *Diodoros* XIV, 30 and 31, and *Strabo* XII, 3, 14, p. 545.

important commercial towns the circumstance may be adduced, that they used to maintain commercial connections also with Alexandria.¹ Accordingly I do not hesitate to remark, that Sinope traded also with Prasis and Dioskurias which were situated on the same sea, and drew wares from them, which were thence by the Sinopians carried to the great maritime towns of the Mediterranean Sea. Also with Cappadocia and Armenia the Sinopians could easily enter into commercial relations.

The mention of Sinope leads to the remark, that the undisturbed pursuit of land-commerce between India and the countries situated on the Black Sea, must have depended from their relations to the Roman Court. Were their relations to it of an inimical kind, interruptions necessarily occurred; the latter however must have terminated as soon as these countries became subject to the sceptre of the Roman emperor. The interruptions of this kind which was the longest and most consequential took place under the king of Pontus *Mithridates Eupater* or the Great, and is the only one which deserves a short mention, because with the end of his dominion every successful resistance to the power of the Roman emperor ceased. Mithridates had subjugated to himself many Scythian peoples, Kolchis, the Bosphoros or the Crimean peninsula and the greatest portion of Asia Minor. After his unfortunate third war with Rome and after the revolt of his son *Pharnakes* in the year 63 B.C., he caused himself to be killed. With his fall his ancestral kingdom lost its independence and thenceforth Roman dominion reigned without resistance in the whole of Asia Minor. As Mithridates was an implacable enemy of the Romans and reigned over Sinope and the ports of Kolchis, there is no need of an express reason for the assertion that as long as Mithridates remained in possession of these towns, the commerce between them and the Roman provinces must have been interrupted. From the subjugation of Asia Minor it follows, that already before the year 57 B.C. with which year the period of

¹ See *Fragm. of Manethon* in C. Mueller's *Fragm. Histor. Græc.* III, p. 614.

Indian commerce now engaging our attention begins, the merchants who carried on the trade between the west-Roman countries and India, could securely carry on their peaceful avocations.

After the statements and explanations of the reports of Indian commerce with the Roman empire, first the influences must be considered, which this commerce has exerted on the state of the Indians and of the Romans. I say of the Romans, for, only of them, and not of the many peoples who obeyed the dominion of the Roman emperor, such influences can be pointed out, inasmuch as they did not take place in the domain of science. The scholars, namely those who made use of the reports they had received from India, in order to develop the geographical and natural historical sciences, lived in various provinces of the Roman empire, and of them, the greatest number consisted of Hellenes.

To the present research, I premise the general remark, that in the present case the question cannot be of one of the most beneficent effects of commercial intercourse between various nations—of the smoothing away of their peculiarities which can only take place through commercial intercourse, and their approach to each other brought on thereby—because the Romans and the Indians dwelt too far from each other, differed from each other too much in customs, manners and opinions, and lastly the number of the merchants pertaining to both nations was too small to produce actual alterations in the circumstances of one of the two nations. In this research two circumstances must be considered: the character of the Romans and of the Indians; further the nature of the wares, which formed an object of commerce between them. To begin with the Romans; at that time the simple manners and strict virtues of earlier times had disappeared, and in their stead, lasciviousness, looseness of manners, miserable love of pomp, and boundless extravagance prevailed. The proud, rich and noble Romans vied with each other in luxury and in scorning money, nor had the Plebeians

shunned these inclinations.¹ The Romans caused from all countries objects to be brought which they needed for the satisfaction of their pomp, and luxurious life; and in this respect Rome may be compared with London where products serving for food, raiment or pleasure of the inhabitants are imported from all the countries of the world. But as India presented to the Romans a great variety of precious stones, perfumes, spices and fine stuffs, it contributed considerably to satisfy the voluptuous and extravagant inclinations of the Romans, and had to that extent contributed to the increase of immorality, which was one of the most important causes of the fall of the west-Roman empire.

A second sequel of Indian commerce was the enrichment of that portion of the Roman mercantile community which pursued this business and derived immense profit from it, of which several examples have been mentioned in the preceding history of commerce. It enriched itself however at the cost of the other pursuits of life and escaped not the censure of that strict moralist Pliny, who, whilst praising the care formerly bestowed on agriculture, complains, "that the seas were so to say defiled by merchants impelled by temerity and covetousness bringing far away from the Red Sea and India, costly wares subservient to the lust of pomp."² A further sequel of Indian commerce was that India swallowed not less than 12,650,000 Thalers from the Roman Empire.³

As subordinate consequences of the commercial intercourse between India and the Roman empire the two following may be considered. Besides the *Panicum Italicum*, also a kind of figs⁴ was brought from India and sold to the Greeks and had received the name of the *Indian ones*. The second consequence of this intercourse meets us in the domain of medical science. The Roman

¹ An example of this occurs above p. 20.

² XIV. 5, 5 and XXII 6, 1 and 2.

³ *Pliny* VI, 21, 6.

⁴ *Of* I. p. 248, Note 3, and *Athenaios*, pp. 53, 53, where also *Euthydemus* is mentioned as the authority.

Physicians not only used several products of India to prepare medicaments from them, as has been mentioned already on several occasions, but they also appropriated themselves several medicines used by Indian physicians. A black eye-ointment was called the *Indian Basilikon* (mentioned also by Arab doctors E. R.) and a plaster was likewise called the *Indian plaster*. These prescriptions and their preparation *Thrasos*, a surgeon, who either received them from Indian physicians who had come to the Roman empire or who had himself been to India, had made known.¹ On the other hand *Indian stone* worn by some to quench the blood flowing from hæmorrhoids, which the celebrated Greek physician to whom we are indebted for this statement justly rejects, cannot be considered as a real remedy.² It was no doubt an imitation of the Indian custom of wearing amulets as a protection from disease.

As far as the Indians are concerned their mode of living was, since a long time, regulated by laws and customs; their country presented them also with a number of objects required for their food, raiment and ornament. Accordingly the articles imported to them from foreign countries may be considered only as supplements to those of their own, when they did not exist in sufficient quantity. This holds good, especially of copper, lead, and tin, of a product not indigenous in India, namely of wine, it has been remarked that probably kings and emperors alone used it.³ Therefore it is incredible that commercial intercourse with Greeks and Romans should in any way have altered the manners and customs of the Indians. The goods sold by the Indians to the subjects of the Roman empire were of much higher value than those which they received from those foreigners. It was in necessary consequence of the very different value of the wares on the two sides, that the Roman merchants were obliged to bring much ready cash, because the amount of the

¹ *Galenos. De compos. medic. sec. locos* XII, 782 and *De compos. medic. per genera*, p. 741, ed. Kuhn.

² *Gabnosi. De simplic. medic. tempor.* XII, p. 227, of the same ed.

³ See above, p. 50.

goods which they sold was insufficient to purchase full cargoes of costly Indian merchandise. In the *Periplus* of the Red Sea on several occasions coins are mentioned as articles of importation.¹ In his time the sum of money brought by merchants from the Roman empire had increased considerably; the report of Pliny has been already adduced before.² Thereby the Indian merchants came into possession of numerous foreign coins, which probably became current also in India and were propagated from Indian ports also into the interior. The Alexandrian merchant who gives us such accurate elucidations on the Indo-Roman commerce of those times informs us also on this point. In Barygara he yet found drachms of the Greek-Bactrian Kings, *Apollodotos* and *Menondros*, in use.³ Herewith the phenomenon agrees that in the most distant places of anterior India Greek and Roman coins have been found, namely in the tope near Hidda in Kabulistan in the vicinity of Jellalabad, in the tope of Manikyala, in the Mahratta country, in the region of Koimbatore, in southern Dekhan and in the ruins of an old town, Mantotte in Ceylon.⁴ These coins gave, for the time in which they were coined, a hint for determining the greater or lesser vivacity of the Roman-Indian commerce. It is admitted of course that if Roman coins of the time of the Roman republic have been found in India, they cannot demonstrate that already during the time of the republic a direct commercial intercourse had taken place between Rome and India, because coins of this kind were, with later ones, brought to India by Roman merchants. Most frequently they are of the emperors from Augustus till the times of the Antonines, many of whose coins have been discovered in the ruins

¹ See above, p. 53.

² See above, p. 4.

³ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, p. 27.

⁴ *Wilson's Ar. antiqu.*, pp. 33 and 103, and on the site of Manikyala cf. II, p. 1177, Note 2; then *Remarks on some lately discovered Roman Gold Coins* by Capt. Drury in the *J. A. S. B.* XX I, p. 371, foll. and. Sir Alexander Johnston's *A letter to the Secretary*, etc., in *Trans. of the R. A. S. I.* p. 346.

of ancient town near Mantotte in Ceylon. Accordingly they bear testimony, that from the beginning of the Christian era till the end of the second century the intercourse between the Roman empire and India was most flourishing ; it, however, continued even after the division of the Roman empire and still maintained itself during the Byzantine empire, because coins of *Theodosios* the first, of *Markianos* and of *Leon* have been found in Malabar, the first of whom began his reign in 407, and the last died in 471. As the history of the Byzantine-Indian commerce cannot be here pursued further, I content myself to point to this circumstance as a preliminary.

If we remember the wide extent of India, its wealth in costly products and its high prosperity at that time, we must perceive that the money introduced into India through commerce with the Roman empire, could be but a small contribution to the enrichment of the inhabitants. On the other hand they obtained with it, during the time of the expansion of the Roman-Greek commerce, a communication of another kind which may here be mentioned, although it properly belongs to the history of astronomy, I mean, the division of the year into weeks and the naming of the separate days thereof according to the seven planets. The earliest well-authenticated mention of this division is of the year 68 B.C. in which Pompey found it in use among the Jews at the taking of Jerusalem.¹ It is based on the circumstance that the 24 hours of the day are dedicated to the seven planets in the following order : Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. According to this distribution, if we begin with Saturday the holiday of the Jews, the 22nd hour will belong to Saturn, the 23rd to Jupiter, the 24th to Mars and the first of the next day to the Sun, by whose name the whole day is called. If we continue in this manner through the whole week, we obtain the names of the separate days of the week, as current among all nations, among whom the division of the year into weeks is customary. This nomenclature is ascribed

¹ *Diocassius* XXXVII, 16, 18 and 19.

to the Egyptians and was very ancient among them. To the Greeks and Romans it had been communicated by the Egyptians. The oldest mention of these names of the week occurs in the writings of *Varāha Mihira*, consequently, only in the beginning of the sixth century.¹ Herefrom it does not, however, follow that these names of the days of the week had with other astronomical doctrines, not already found admittance among the Indians, but it might have been accepted only in daily life, not in the ritual, in which the original Indian division of the month into a light and dark half continues to subsist.² From India, the week with its seven days named after the seven planets has been carried to Java³. But as it had first originated in Egypt, there can scarcely be a doubt that the Indians had received them from the merchants who visited their country for the sake of commerce.

On the other ramifications of the commerce of the Indians with foreign countries we possess only isolated notices.

The third of the three routes which branched off in Bactria from the great high-way leading from India, passed over the great separating mountains the Belurtag, extended as far as the country of the *Serike* which embraced East Turkistan, the desert Shamo or Gobi* and Tibet proper. The Roman merchants went as far as the town *Seraf*, either Hami or Turfan.⁴ From here goods were brought across Bactria to the port *Barbarikon* on the mouth of the Indus.⁵ The commerce

¹Weber's *Ind. Stud.* II, p. 666.

² Cf. I, p. 823.

³ The earliest indication on these Javanese names occurs in the *Aant esk. keningen & J. Domis* in the Transactions of the Batavian Society of Arts XIII, p. 339, foll. These were afterwards communicated in *The History of Java* by S. Raffels, I, p. 1175, in *The Hist. of the Ind. Archiël.* by J. Cramford, I, p. 293. Lastly in *K. Friederich's Voorloopig Verslag Vanke E. land Bali* in the first mentioned collection XXIII, p. 21.

* See II, p. 535.

⁵ *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 22.

* [Schoff., p. 261.—Trs.]—[Gerini, 2, 249.—Trs.]

† [Schoff., p. 269.—Trs.] Gerini, pp. 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 738.—Trs.]

of the Serd, by which name the Greeks and Romans call the merchants from whom they received the so-called Seric goods, which name was, however, afterwards also transferred to the peoples who inhabited Serike. *Pliny* gives us a short but extremely interesting report so far as the history of commerce is concerned.¹

There existed a commercial intercourse between the Serd and the inhabitants of Taprobane. The father of *Rachias*, the director of the embassy of the Singalese king to the emperor *Claudius*, had himself travelled to them and had reported of them the following remarkable circumstances :— The Serd dwelt on the other side of the Emodian mountains, by which name the middle part of the Himalayas is understood. They surpassed other men by the size of their bodies, had reddish hair and sky-blue eyes. Their language had coarse sounds, and was unintelligible to foreign merchants. They came to meet the Roman merchants as well as the father of *Rachias* ; there the foreigners deposited on the other bank the articles of commerce brought by them, by the side of those offered to them for sale by the Serd ; the latter carried off the foreign articles if they were pleased with the Carter. They hated luxury and covetousness and cared not what the foreign merchants sought among them, nor why they came, and where they carried the Seric goods. On account of this want of the love of gain and on account of their simple manners, they are, by the Roman geographers, designated as a very just nation, and stated to have become greatly known by the trade which they carried on in this manner by depositing articles in solitary places and then departing.²

This description of the Serd preserved to us by *Pliny* best suits the *Usun* who belong to inner-Asia, had, according to the Chinese reports fair hair, blue eyes, and were not driven to the west by the great *Jueitchis*, and possessed, according to the statement of a Chinese official in the year 113 B. C. the region

¹*Pliny* VI. 24, 8.

²*Pomponius Mela* III, 7, 1.

at present called *Dsungary*.¹ The river not mentioned in Pliny's account must be the stream called *Oichardos* by Ptolemy, the present *Tarīm* and one of the towns situated in the great high-way through upper Asia, namely *Turfan*, belonged to *Usin*.² Accordingly I do not hesitate to assume that the *Serd* mentioned in the passage of Pliny are no other than the *Usuns*. Short as this information is, it nevertheless throws a bright light on the great commercial intercourse, during those times, among the most distant nations. From the capital of the Roman empire situated in the far west, and from the island *Taprobane* situated in the south of India, merchants visited inner-Asia.

Of the land commerce of the Indians with China, the most distant country of eastern Asia, a short already explained notice occurs in the *Periplus of the Red Sea*.³ Annually Indian merchants visited the frontiers of the *Thinai** on the route through *Sikim* along the *Tista*, and procured on their return from the *Besadai* the *Malabathron*§, which they brought to the port *Gange* at the mouth of the *Ganges*.

¹ Ritter's *Asien*, V., p. 613 ff. and Vivien Saint Martin's *The White Huns* cf. p. 33.

² See II, pp. 533 and 555.

³ See above, p. 38.

[* Gerini, pp. 238, 239, 249, 276.—Trs.]

[§ Schoff, pp. 6, 44—5, 47, 84, 89, 112, 216, 7, 756, 279, 281.—Trs.]

VII.—Sanskrit Works on Elephants.

By Vinayatosa Bhattacharyya, M.A., and
G. K. Shrigondekar, M.A.

In Sanskrit there is rather an extensive literature on elephants, the methods of catching them, their tending and treatment. The earliest among the extant works is decidedly the *Hastyaurveda*,¹ which is written in the style of the Purāṇas being an interlocution between Romapāda, the King of Āṅga, and the sage Palakāpya. This latter belonged to the Kāpya Gotra and because he tended (*pālāyati*) the elephants, he got the name of Palakāpya. The work is believed to have been written in the 5th or the 4th century B.C. In this work plenty of interesting details about elephants, their origin and their treatment are to be found.

About the origin of elephants the work says that elephants formerly had the power of moving about according to their will; they could walk, swim and even could fly in the air. Once it so happened that a batch of elephants came flying to the hermitage of a sage and the whole company sat on the branch of a tree, which, being unable to bear the heavy burden yielded, and broke. The sage, thereupon, pronounced a curse to the effect that the elephants henceforth will lose the power to move at will and that they will be mounts of human beings in future for doing mischief in consequence of accumulated pride.²

The elephants of the quarters, in order to prevent this curse taking effect, went to Brahma, who was powerless against

¹ Published in the Anandasrama Sanskrit Series (1894).

² Op. cit. Ch. I, Sec. 1, Ślokas 83-89. The wordings of the curse is as follows :—

Madadarpocchrayādyaśmānmama bhagnah parigrahaḥ !

Vimuktāḥ kāmācāreṇa bhaviṣyatha na saṁśayaḥ !

Narāṇāṃ vāhanatvaṃ ca tasmāt prāpsyatha bāraṇāḥ !!

the sage to ameliorate their condition, but consoled them with a promise that he would create a man who will be able to cure all destructive diseases of elephants which they are sure to catch when in the lower world.³

All elephants in consequence of the curse had to go to the world, all looking morose and unhappy, and wandering here and there, at last they entered the hermitage of a sage (Matāṅga by name.) This sage was the same night visited by a Yakṣiṇī in his dream. Being awakened he came out and passed urine, which was drunk by one of the she-elephants of the herd, who became *enciente* soon after and produced a beautiful child who came to be known as the sage Pālakāpya, the first doctor of elephants.⁴

The king of Aṅga was promised by gods that he will have the elephants as his mount, and he was always thinking as to how he could secure such a mount. He was directed by Nārada to send his men after the elephant herds north of the Ganges in the forest to trace them by following their dung and urine. The searchers came to the hermitage of Pālakāpya and were overjoyed to find a large number of elephants there. They also observed Ṛṣi Pālakāpya who used to play with them whenever he was free from his sacrificial and other duties. They reported the whole matter to the king of Aṅga who went with his army to the hermitage and captured all of them when the sage was merged in deepest

³ Op. cit. Śl. 96-98.—Cf. Brahmā's speech—

Na viśāde manah kāryaṃ vyādhīn prati mataṅgaḥ !
Utpatsyatyacireṇātha gajabandhurmahāmuniḥ !!
Āyurvedasya vettā vai matkṛtsaya bhaviṣyati !
Teṣāṃ rogān samutpannān hanisyatyauśadhibalāt !!

⁴ Op. cit. Śl. 103-110—

Tam svapne dharsayāmāsa yakṣiṇī kāmārūpiṇī !
kā nviyaṃ śayanāt tūrnmutthitah sa vyachintayan !!
Āśramādabhinīṣkramya munirmutraṃ cakāra saḥ !
Tasya mūtreṇa sampṛṣtam tartaivendriyamasravat !!
Dulvakāraṇasamyuktaṃ tattū tadretasānvitam !
Apivadhastinī mūtram tato garbhamadhatta sā. !!

meditation, and brought them all to his capital Champā (near Bhagalpore).⁵

It so happened afterwards that the elephants could not be properly taken care of, and almost every one of them began suffering from one disease or other. The sage Pālakāpya after his usual meditation was very much aggrieved to miss his favourite animals and began a search after them and at last came to the capital of the king of Aṅga. He found his favourite animals in diseased conditions and at once went to the jungles near by, and fetched a number of medicinal plants and applied the medicines to the elephants. This news took the king by surprise and he invited the sage Pālakāpya to his place after showing due respects, and their conversation is recorded in *Hastyāyurveda*, which has come down to us.⁶

Pālakāpya praises the elephants as the best mounts for kings and as best fighters in the army. Some of the Ślokas are worth quoting and translating :—

Mokṣāt parā gatirnāsti nāsti vedātparā śrutiḥ !

Nāsti Kṛṣṇāt param bhūtam nāsti yānam gajāṭ param !!⁷

“There is no further advent after emancipation, no authority beyond the Vedas, no man better than Kṛṣṇa, and no mount as excellent as the elephant.”

Prṥhivyāḥ bhūṣaṇam Meruḥ śarvavyāḥ bhūṣaṇam Śasī !

Nārāṇām bhūṣaṇam vidyā saīnyānām bhūṣaṇam gajāḥ !!⁸

“The Sumeru is the ornament of the world, the moon of the night, the learning is the ornament of the man and the elephant is the ornament of the army”.

Yato satyaṇtato dharmah yato dharmastato dhanam !

Yato rūpam tataḥ śīlam yato nāgastato jayah !!⁹

Besides this, there is truth there is religion ; where there is religion Sanskrit is prosperity ; where there is beauty there is nobility. Op. cit. where there are elephants there is victory”.

⁵ Op. cit. Sl. 34-59.

⁶ 72ff.

⁷ Mātar. Sl. 64-74.

⁸ Op. cit. Ch. I, Sec. V. Sl. 22.

⁹ Op. cit. Sl. 23.

¹⁰ Op. cit. Sl. 29.

Pālakāpya also gives further interesting details as to what sort of men should be appointed by kings as the Minister-in-charge of elephants (Gajamātya). For instance, he should be religiously inclined, pure in mind and free from all vices; should have a sweet tongue, good physique and boldness; should be strong, grateful to the king and free from greed. He should have a name of auspicious significance, should be all obedience to the order of the king and be always alert to please the king, etc., etc.¹⁰

Pālakāpya also refers to the qualities of the physicians for elephants. For instance, he should be modest, have a good memory and should be well conversant with the books on medicine. He should come of a good family, should be a good speaker and of a talkative nature, and should always be thinking of the welfare of elephants, etc.

Next to Pālakāpya the work worthy of mention is the *Arthasāstra*¹¹ of Kauṭilya who flourished in the 4th century B.C. giving interesting details about elephants. It gives, for instance how the king should maintain searches after elephants in forests and how they are to inform the catchers. The catchers as instructed by the State Physician for elephants should catch such among them who possess auspicious characteristics and are of good character. The searchers should report also the whereabouts of elephants in herds, stray elephants, elephants in rut, young elephants, and elephants that have escaped from the cage.¹²

Kauṭilya further says "The victory of kings (in battles) depends mainly upon elephants; for elephants being of large bodily frame, are able not only to destroy the arrayed army of an enemy, his fortifications and encampments, to undertake works that are dangerous to life".¹³

¹⁰ Op. cit. Sl. 39-45.

¹¹ References to the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya are from its English translation by Pandit R. Shamashastry, B.A., M.R.A.S., first edition, 1913 (Bangalore).

¹² Op. cit. 55-56.

¹³ Op. cit. 56.

In *Arthasāstra*¹⁴ we find also the classification of elephants. Elephants, he says, bred in countries such as Kalinga, Āṅga Kāruṣa and the East are considered as best ; those of Daśārṇa and Western countries are of middle quality ; and those of Saurāṣṭra and Pañchajanya (Panjab) are of low quality. Their might, strength and energy can however be improved by suitable training.

Kauṭilya also directs the kings to have a Superintendent of elephants who shall take proper care to protect elephant forests and supervise their training, and the works of such subordinates as the elephant doctors, trainers, grooms, drivers, binders, and others. In Kauṭilya are found also the measurements of elephant stables and of places suitable for their bathing, playing and training.¹⁵ He also gives the measurements of elephants and divides them according to length, height, etc. He also gives the age limit of elephants that are to be captured and prohibits the capture of others. For instance, elephants less than twenty years old, infatuated elephants, elephants without tusks, diseased elephants, elephants which suckle their young ones and female elephants should not be captured. He also enumerates the physical splendour of elephants and their auspicious characteristics and also fixes their daily rations.

In war, according to Kauṭilya, the army should be arrayed in the following manner. The elephants such as are trained in war shall be on the front, the flanks should be guarded by elephants such as are trained for riding and wings should be protected by rogue elephants. The best army according to Kauṭilya is that which consists of a strong infantry and of such elephants and horses as are noted for their breed, birth, strength, youth, vitality, capacity to run even in old age, fury, skill, firmness magnanimity, obedience and good habits.¹⁶

Besides these two works there are further works on elephants in Sanskrit such as the *Gajanjirupana*, *Mātāṅgalīlā*,¹⁷ *Gajacikit-*

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 56.

¹⁵ Op. cit. pp. 169ff. Details about the training of elephants are to be found in p. 172ff.

¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 448.

¹⁷ *Mātāṅgalīlā* is published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (1910).

śā, or *Gajalakṣaṇa*¹⁸ among which the last mentioned work deserves special notice. It is also in the form of an interlocution between King Nahuṣa and Vṛhaspati. It mentions that Gaṇeśa was created by Śiva from his perspiration caused by his anxiety to destroy the Daityas. He created also Airāvata for the same purpose and it is regarded as the primordial elephant. Brahmā in the next cycle (Yuga) created the second kind and Nārāyaṇa the third kind in the third cycle. It further mentions the eight different forests,¹⁹ with their boundaries producing eight different kinds of elephants, e.g., Prācyā, Kāruṣa, Daśārṇa, Āṅgareya, Kalinga, Aparānta, Saurāṣṭra and Pañcanada. Prācyā is the country lying between the Himālayas, Lauhitya, Ganges and Prayāga. Kāruṣa comprises the territory lying between Mekhalā, Tipperah and Daśārṇa; Daśārṇa comprises Śrīparvata, Vindhya and the Vetravati; Āṅgareya comprises the country lying between Pāriyātra, Vidiśā the Narmadā and Brahmāvarta; Kalinga or Utkaladeśa is the country lying between the south sea and the Sahya mountain; Aparānta comprises the country lying between the Arabian sea, Narmadā and Sahya mountain; Saurāṣṭra is the country lying between Avanti (Malwa) Dwarka and Abu; Pañcanada is the country comprising the Kurukṣetra, Kālikāvana (Jvālāmukhi?), the Indus and the Himālayas.

Elephants bred up in different forests are again sub-divided into three different classes as Bhadra, Mandra and Mṛga giving

¹⁸ The information hereinafter given from *Gajalakṣaṇa* is based on the two manuscript of the work, Nos. 6474 and 12463, deposited in the Central Library, Daroda.

¹⁹ Cf. the text.—Prācyā-Vedikarūṣa- Daśārṇaka- āṅgareyaka- Kāliṅgaka, Aparāntaka, Saurāṣṭraka, Pañcanadābhīdhānāni. (1) Tatra Himāśaila, Mandākinī, Prayāga, Lauhityāntare Prācyam vanam. (2) tathā Mekhalā, Tripurā, Daśārṇadeśa madhye Vedikarūṣajam vanam. (3) tathā Daśārṇābhīdhānaviśaye Śrīparvata, Vindhyaḍri, Vetravatinām madhye Daśārṇakam vanam. (4) tathā ca Pāriyātra, Vidiśā, Narmadā, Brahmāvar, dhanāntare Āṅgareyakam vanam. (5) Utkaladeśa, Dakṣiṇārṇava, Sahya, Vindhyaḍmadhye, Kāliṅgakam vanani. (6) tathā Aparāntam, Sahya, Narmadānt are ca Aparāntakam vanani. (7) tathāiva Avanti, Narmadā, Dvārakā, Arbudapurāntare Saurāṣṭrakam vanam. (8) tathāiva Kurukṣetra, Kālikāvana, Sindhuṇadī, Tuhinadharānt are Pañcanadābhīdhānam²⁰. —Ms: 6674, fol. 2-3.

rise to 24 different kinds. They are again subdivided²⁰ into two kinds according as they are either Giricara (accustomed to mountains) or Nadicara (accustomed to rivers). According to our author therefore elephants are of 48 different kinds. Amongst them the best are those belonging to the Prācyā forests. They are most gigantic in size, modest, powerful and of reddish colour; they are strong, always in rut, experts in charging and retreating in battles. They are not ordinarily angry tempered but display their strength when much teased.²¹

This work also gives details of testing the strength of an elephant, which are very interesting. It says that that elephant would be considered as the most powerful, which would be able to bear on its back the burden of 18,000 coins and would be able to run for ten Yojanas (roughly 80 miles) without being tired.²² Similarly the speed of an elephant is tested. The elephant which ~~catches~~ catch any fastest runner in the world in seven steps only is considered to be the possessor of the highest speed.²³ The maximum age limit of elephants according to this author is 120 years.

The elephant in ancient India is always regarded as specially sacred in all the three religious systems of India,

²⁰ Cf. text—

Atah param pravakṣyāmi lakṣaṇaṁ giricārīṇāṃ.

Tathā nadicarāṇāṃ tathāivobhayacārīṇāṃ. Fol. 7-8.

²¹ Cf. text.—“vinay asattvaśaktisampannāḥ tāmratviṣaḥ praviral-
amadāḥ gajayuddhe ca upasarpāṇāpasarpāṇaniratāḥ bhavanti nālikrochināḥ,
samudye jitaḥ sattvaṃ darśayanti”. Fol. 3b.

²² The text is —

Jāmbunadasya tāmrasya palāni rajatasya va.

Aṣṭādaśasahasrāṇi yuktyā Śaṅgrhya vegavān.

Dasayojanamadhvānam gacchati śramavarjjitah.

Yo gajo gajamadye tu sa uttamavalaḥ smṛtaḥ. Fol. 19b, Ms. No. 6874.

²³ Compare text—

Gajotthānasaḥotthānanaram vegapradhvānam.

Kopāviṣṭena mānasa

Yastu vegena gṛhṇāti naram sapta padāntaram

Ms. No. 12463, fol. 37a, i.

Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Gaṇeśa, for instance, with the head of an elephant, is regarded as the bestower of perfection. Airāvata, the white elephant has been accepted as a mount by Indra, the god of Heaven, and his birth at the time of the churning the ocean (Samudramanṭhana) is regarded as specially sacred. The Hindus believe also that the Diggajas guard the ten quarters. Elephants in ancient India were regarded so sacred that Kauṭilya prescribes death sentence for any one who kills an elephant. But on the other hand, if a man is killed by an elephant his relatives are to pay a sum to Government for his obtaining such an auspicious death. In Buddhism we find Buddha himself represented as a white elephant at Dhauli near Bhuvaneshwar. It is also recorded that Māyā Devī saw in her dreams that a white elephant is entering into her womb. Eventually she became *enciente* and produced a son, who became known as the Buddha in later times. In the Jātaka literature, recording stories of the Buddha's previous births we find the Buddha born several times as an elephant. In *Saddanta Jātaka*, for instance, we read the story that he was once born as a six-tusked elephant, who himself broke all the six tusks, one after another, to present them to a queen, and thus sacrificed his life. In later times we find a pair of elephants as vehicles of Akṣobhya a Dhyaṇī Buddha. Similarly, in Jainism elephant was regarded as specially sacred to Ajitanātha, a Tirthankara, as his Lañchhana or the recognition symbol.

VIII.—Our Historical Sense.

By B. C. Bhattacharya, M. A.

It has been often heard remarked that Ancient Indians possessed no history, neither had they any historical sense. We have to go deep into the question and prove positively or negatively how far it is based upon truth. The conception of history is never constant but differs widely according to different stand-points. We have already heard of many kinds of history—Political history, Constitutional history, Economic history, Cultural history, Social history and so on. It is not obviously known, however, that those who deny ancient India any knowledge of history, what type of history they actually mean thereby. Then, again, one has to note that there has been a gradual evolution in the art of writing history. Some historians, while compiling their history, were not blind to the literary side of the art. Classical writers of history like the Greek and Roman historians and in later times, Gibbon, Green and Macaulay clothed their historical accounts in fine and sometimes in gorgeous garb of expressions. Quite recently, a new school of historians, representing as they say "Scientific History" have arisen, who studiously divest their history of any literary grace. Indeed, the Muse of History evermore typifying an art suffers painfully at their hands!

Now, the question : whether the Ancient Indians recorded no contemporary events or whether they never had the knowledge of writing history in the modern fashion. The later question to be applied to Ancient India would be assuredly a self-contradiction. The first question can be most adequately answered.

History fundamentally deals with memorable events—events connected with the life-history of contemporary kings, religious

teachers, and powerful clans. This kind of history we find in abundance in Indian literature, ancient tradition, coins and inscriptions. In some cases it is possible to get a full glimpse into the daily life of ancient peoples in India. The wars between the *Suras* and the *Asuras*, the Aryans and *Dashyns*, the exploits of the God-kings and heroes, the traditional history of the Purorabās, the solar and lunar kings, the Ikṣākus, Kurus, Pāṇḍavas, the history of the Ṛṣis have come down to us in a fairly detailed form through the Vedic, Paurāṇic, Buddhist and Jaina literatures. Who, among the educated people in India, is not acquainted with the life-history of Rāma Chandra, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Pāṇḍavas, Gautama Buddha and Mahāvira ?

The Indian equivalent word for history is *Itihāsa*, which has been derived as इतिहास पुरातनं आस्तं
Indian notion of history. अस्मिन् meaning that which contains ancient accounts. Further, *Itihāsa* has been more clearly defined as :—

आर्यादि बहु व्याख्यानं देवर्षि चरिताश्रयम्
 इतिहास मिति प्रोक्तं भविष्याद्भवतश्च यत् ॥

Śrīdhara Svāmī has quoted this verse in his Commentary to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III. 4. 10). According to this *Itihāsa* contains detailed accounts as told by Rishis, lives of Devas and seers and wonderful pious stories of the future. From this it is evident that history or *Itihāsa* in India recorded past events authenticated by truthful Rishis, inclusive of lives of gods and seers. What better definition can we give of history ? We may talk of historic testimony, verification of one record by means of another, primary evidence and secondary evidence all implying in short that we are proving a case before a court of justice. If we believe on the whole, in the truthfulness of a nation, in their ancient chroniclers, there can scarcely be any room for making an elaborate case of proof ! If we place no credence on the writings of those who valued truth more than their lives, we may as well discredit the truth of every ancient record, whether inscriptional or numismatic or of a foreign traveller. The same men, who

recorded events in books, also engraved the inscriptions. What earthly ground there can be to give credit to Fahien or Hiuen-tsiung and not to our truthful seers? Of course, in exceptional cases, ancient facts have been tinged with some exaggerations. But this tendency is apparent in all old writers, whether Indian or Greek or Chinese all having indulged in some exaggeration and romance.

In Vedic literature, *Itihāsa* has been called the fifth Veda.

In as much as *Śruti* is a *Pramāṇa*, *Itihāsa*

**References to
Itihāsa in early
literature.**

thus and very appropriately is accredited as a canon of truth. It has also been clearly distinguished from the *Purāṇa*.—

वा की वाक्येतिहास पुराणः पञ्चमो वेदानां वेदः

छान्दोग्योपनिषत् ।

From the several descriptions of *Itihāsa*, we are led to the conclusion that it is the narrative of actual events and of important personages of our ancient society. Thus, *Itihāsa* formed a phase of Indian literature but never, as a rule, existed in separate books to be styled as pure history. Hence, a *Purāṇa* is not a history but history may be found in a *Purāṇa*. Similarly, in the narrative portions of the *Brāhmaṇas* which are the parents of the *Purāṇas*, much ancient history has been preserved, which with some alterations are to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.

नवमेद्विंशतिश्रुतमयि.....उपदिशतीतिहासोर्वेदः

सीयमितौतिहास माचक्षित

आश्वलायन श्रौतसू ।

(वेद भागविशेषस्य रूपत्वमुक्तं तच्चपुरावृत्तप्रतिबाद

कृतात् तथेतिबोध्यं तदभि प्रायेणैव) ।

i.e., the portion of the Veda which relates to ancient accounts. A clearer conception of history is afforded by the following verse from the *Mahābhārata*.

धर्मार्थं काम मोक्षाणां सुपदेश समन्वितम् ।

पूर्ववृत्तकथायुक्तमितिहासं प्रचक्षते ॥

According to this definition, history is the narrative of ancient facts accompanied by teachings on religion, economics, culture and salvation. It amounts really to what Carlyle said of history, viz., "History is philosophy teaching by examples." That is to say, history must not be a mere dry record but should also concern itself with useful generalizations. Following the Mahābhāratic conception of history, the historian must not only state ancient facts but should also draw inferences therefrom, which will be educative to the people. That it was a part of the religious literature, so sacred and so credible in every detail is well-attested by a passage from Manu—

द्वाध्यायं श्रावयेत् पित्रो धर्मं शास्त्राणि चैव हि ।

“आख्यानानीतिहासाश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च ॥”

“The Veda, Dharmaśāstras, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and *khilas* should be recited towards the *Pitris*.”

Now, actually there ran a gradual evolution of the chains of ancient facts from the Vedic to the later Paurāṇic and other literatures. This is obvious from the passage I presently quote :—

इतिहास पुराणाद्यैर्वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ॥

The Veda is to be elucidated by the *Itihāsa* and the *Purāṇas* meaning thereby by the facts of history and the Purāṇas.

The importance attached to the study of history had been so great that every day a fixed time was appointed when history and the Purāṇas had to be recited and heard.

“इतिहास पुराणाद्यैर्वेदं सप्तमं नयेत्” । दत्तः

Again, according to Kautilya's *Artha Śāstra* the kings must spend the afternoons in hearing the *Itihāsa*. (Kautilya i, 39-60).

From the early references to *Itihāsa* as mentioned and discussed above, can be substantiated the existence as well as the characteristics of such a body of literature as History in Ancient India.

The earliest reference to *Itihāsa* occurs in the 15th Book of the Atharva Veda (XV. 6.4). *Itihāsa* then appears in the *Satapatha Brāh °*, (xiii, 4, 3, 12, 13), the *Jaiminīya Brhadāranyaka* (ii, 4, 16, iv, 12, v, II) and *Chāndogya Upanishad* (iii, 4, 1, 2).

Everywhere, especially, in the *Satapatha Br.*, *Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, *Itihāsa* has been identified with the Veda. All this may testify to the infallibility of the truth of this Literature. In Vedic Literature, *Anvākhyāna* and *Itihāsa* are distinguished as different classes of works but the exact point of distinction seems to be obscure to some western oriental scholars. (1) When we get three different words like *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* and *Ākhyāna*, they must have different connotations for ideas which they represent. "*Ākhyāna*" or "*Ākhyāyikā*" has been defined as a species of prose composition, — a connected story or narrative आख्यानं — पूर्वाह्नि :— अपसरा : पुरुषसं इत्याख्यानं विद आचक्षते. *Mālavikāgni M.* 2. Again, आख्यायिका कथावत् स्यात् कवेर्वशादिकीर्तनं असामान्यकवीनांच वृत्तं गद्यं कश्चित्कचित्। *Sāhitya Darp.* 568. Writers on Hindu Rhetoric usually divide prose composition into कथा and आख्यायिका—and make a distinction between them. Thus, they regard *Bāṇa's* हर्षचरित as an आख्यायिका and कालिदास's *Raghuvamśa* as a कथा. Hence, *Ākhyāna* is a mixture of history and fiction. *Itihāsa* is a pure narrative of history while the *Purāṇa* is, again, an admixture of history and religion. To Yaska, the oldest lexicographer of India, the *Itihāsa* is a part of the Mantra Literature itself, *Āitihāsiṅgas* being merely the people who interpret the R̥g Veda by seeing in it traditions or true facts where others see myths.

It may be said that the back-bone of history is Chronology.

Knowledge of Chronology in Ancient India.

There is hardly any reason to suspect that the Hindus had no knowledge of chronology nor had they the custom of dating their events, — the memorable events of the

(1) See "Vedic Index"—the words "*Itihāsa*" and "history".

past. In fact, while performing a religious ceremony, they still say “अमुके मासि अमुक पक्षे, अमुकतिथौ, etc., etc. The *Śrāddha* and *Tarpana* are matters to commemorate past events with exact dates. The Hindu Society still perpetuates the memory of their great heroes, and divine kings and we can know the dates of their births, deaths and historical achievements. *Kṛiṣṇa-Janmāṣṭamī*, *Rāma-navamī*, *Siva-chaturdaśī*, *Ganeśa-chaturthī*, *Lakṣmī-Purnimā*, *Māhānavamī*, *Vijayā-Daśamī*, etc., have still been observed and preserved to our memory with accurate *Tithi*, *Nakṣatra*, etc. Thus, when we know that Śrī Kṛiṣṇa was born on Aṣṭami day of the black fortnight, his star was Rohini, his *Rāśi* was Bull, his day was Wednesday, it is possible to find the year of his birth by a back calculation, with reference to the astronomical occurrence of the particular combination. It is also worthy of note that astronomical statements of dates are more reliable than dates in connection with particular eras, which are often misunderstood.

Now, if any body argues that granting India paid a considerable attention to the memorable events associated with the lives of their deified heroes, what about the dates for kings. We may answer. Our ancient kings had their dates—not only dates but most of them started eras after them. Whereas, in Europe there is only one era current, i.e., the Christian Era, in India, on the other hand, a number of eras were in use. This has the unique advantage of checking each other for verification. As ancient as the time of the *Māhābhārata*, we hear of the *Yudhiṣṭhirābda*, the Kali era and the *Saptarṣi Kālā*. Then, in the so-called “Historical times” the *Mauryan* era, the *Vikrama* era, the *Sātavāhana* era, the *Śakābda*, the *Gupta* era, the *Harṣa* era, the *Chedi* era and the *Lakṣmana Sena* era. Referring to 8000—5000 B.C. as *Kṛta yuga* (Tilak), 5000—3000 B.C. as *Mrgaśira* epoch, *Aditi* epoch about 6000 B. C., *Rohini* epoch—3101 B. C., *Kṛtikā* epoch in the Vedic Brāhmaṇas and *Saṃhitās*

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The Kali Abda—The year of commencement is 3102 B.C. Its years are both *Chaitrā di* (luni-solar) and *Mesā di* (solar). It is used both in astronomical works and in *Pañchañgas*. The late Mr. Dikshit is not very right when he says that it was not used in epigraphical records.

In the Aihole inscription we have—

त्रिंशत् सु त्रिसह सेषु भारता दाह वादितः ।

सप्तवद शतयुक्तेषु गतेष्ववद शु पञ्चसु ॥

पञ्चशत्सु, कली काले षट्सु पञ्च शता सु च ।

समास, समतीतासु शकाना मपि भूभु जाम् ॥

i.e., $3000 + 700 + 30 + 5 = 3735$ expired year (2) of the Kali yuga since the Bhārata war

556 Śaka year

78

634 A. D. Date of the epigraph.

Āryabhaṭa in his *Kāla kriyā pāda* (10 verse) writes :

षष्ठय व्दानां षष्ठ्युदा व्यतीता स्त्रयश्च युग पादाः ।

अधिका विंशति रवदास्रदेह सम जाम्नो ३ तीताः ॥

i. e., when 3,600 years have elapsed in the Kali era, he was 23 years old. Hence, he was born in 3577 Kali era. (3)

(1) Some chronological results—

- (a) the correspondence between the names of months and the period. Hence, the names of the months did not date before B. C. 1181.
- (b) All the lists of the Nakṣatras begin with Kṛttikāś. The date at which the Kṛttikāś coincided with the vernal equinox has been reckoned at some period in the 3rd millennium B. C. (Weber).
- (c) Since the full moon in Phālgun is called 'month' of the year, the year began in that month. Thus the year was reckoned from the winter solstice, which would coincide with the month of Phālgun about B. C. 4000 (Jacobi).

(2) Epi. Indica, Vol. VI. p. 1.

(3) Another calculation — The inter-regnum between Parikṣita and Nanda is 1,500 years. The time of Parikṣita is far early about 1200 Kali era. Nanda was anointed king circa 401 B.C. Hence, $2700 + 401 = 3101$ is the initial year of the Kali yuga.

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Śaptarshi kāla.—This era also named *Laukika-kāla* " or *Śāstra-kāla* appears to have been in use in Multan and other parts — Initial point — 3076 B.C.

The Vikrama Era—58 B.C. In Northern India, the year is *Chaitrādi* and its months *Pūrṇimānta*. The earliest known date containing the word *Vikrama* is "Vikrama Samvat" 898 (about A.D. 840). While examining some Jaina manuscripts, I came upon one passage in a manuscript called *जिनसंहिता* preserved in the Bengal Asiatic Society. It runs thus:

नवाष्ट नवकेष्वेष्टु स्थानेषु त्रिषु जायते ॥
विक्रमादित्य कालस्य परिमाणमिदं स्फुटम् ।
विं (?) शतेष्वष्टम्, विस्फुटं (स) पञ्चाशदाधिकेषु च ।
शककालस्य सत्यस्य परिमाणमिदं भवेत् ।
संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे वर्त्तमाने खराभिधे ।
विनयादिक कालस्य राज्ये शक्रोपमानके ॥

Two dates are given 989 Samvat, 856 Śaka [era 856 + 78 = 934 A.D. The record is of special importance as it mentions the full name of Vikramāditya with his era. The Śaka era — 78 A.D., mentioned before in the Aihole inscription.

The Chedi era — 249 A.D.

The Gupta era — 320 A.D. Dr. Fleet's examination of dates in that era from 163 to 386 led him to conclude that its years were current and *Chaitrādi*. The epoch, i.e., the beginning of Gupta Samvat 0 current is Śaka 242 current. We owe an important record of the Early Guptas, the Éraṇ Pillar inscription which gives us the name of Budha Gupta and one of the dates which help to fix the exact initial point of the Gupta era to the erection of the column as the "flag staff" of the god of the temple in front of which it stands.

The Harsha kāla—605 or 606,—founded by King Harsha. At the time of Alberuni (A.D. 1030) it was in use in Mathura and Kanauj. Its epoch seems to be Śaka 529 current A.D. 606-7.⁽¹⁾ More than ten inscriptions have been

¹ Dikshīt's "The Indian Calendar."

discovered in Nepal dated in the 1st and 2nd century of this era. The Shahpur record gives us the date of King Āditya Sena in the Harsha era. Bāṇa tells us that Harshavardhana was born "in the month of Jyāishṭha, on the 12th day of the dark fortnight, when the moon was standing in the Pleiades (कृत्तिका), just after the twilight time when the young night had begun to climb."

Now, in what other ways, could the true historical sense be better shown? Every Indian must have heard of *Bhīṣma-māṣṭamī*, the date on which the great Bhīṣma attained his voluntary decease and the *Utthānekādasī* when ages ago Viṣṇu rose from his contemplation or the Sun moves towards the north at the commencement of the winter solstice. Even the gotra, *pravara* have been recorded in every detail for us. We have to confess, however, that with our Indian national specialty above all we placed our Dharma and its elaborate practices. But that does not say, even a superficial observer will pause to say that thereby we lost all connection with the world of realities. In politics, in law, administration, in various arts and phases of literature, our Ancient Indians developed eminently and our history was not excluded.

The fact is noteworthy that without the historical materials and documents which originated, no doubt, from the historical sense of our
Historical method and materials. ancients, no history of India (either 'Oxford or Cambridge'!) as we possess to-day and progressive as it is, could have been compiled with such a vast wealth of informations. Thanks to our *Purāṇas*, the traditions, the Artha Śāstra, the edicts of Asoka, the coins and inscriptions of the Kushan and Gupta kings, the biographies of Harsha, Rāmapāla, Vikramāṅka, we know now as many elaborate facts as we could expect about those periods. And it is almost a well-known fact that our inscriptions as also the manuscripts, the ancient images and monuments were mostly dated with great precision of time, day, month and year.

Now, what about the historical or 'scientific' historical method of writing history? It may interest some people to hear that Kalhana, the famous historian of the *Rājatarāṅgini*, anticipated the modern method of gleaning history out of ancient documents and pedigrees, inscriptions and copper plates. Let him say in his own words—

दृग्गोचरं पूर्वसूरिण्या राज कथा श्रयाः ।

मम त्वे का दश गता मतं नील मुने रपि ॥

दृष्टैश्च पूर्वभू भक्तृ प्रतिष्ठा-वस्तु-शासनैः

प्रशस्ति-पट्टैः शास्त्रैश्च शान्तो शेष भ्रमल्लभः ॥

द्वापञ्चाशत माश्राय भ्रं शायान्नायस्मयन्नृपान् ।

तेभ्य नील मता दृष्टं गोनन्दादि चतुष्टयम् ॥

Thus, we see he was a regular antiquarian like one of our age and a historian who based his work upon 11 collections of *Rāja Kathā*, work of Nilamuni and inscriptions and copperplates.

Turning to historical materials, we find that true spirit of history is well manifested in more than one ways. (The kings had their genealogies, some of which, we find, preserved in the *Purāṇas* and *Inscriptions*.) In the *Khāravela* inscription of Orissa probably originally imitated from a day-book, a detailed career of the king from birth right up to the 13th year of his reign, together with the principal events of the reign has been found. Similarly, the dynasties of the Gupta kings have been faithfully recorded in their *Prasastis*. Every *Matha* or religious college of any importance preserves the succession of its heads. Among the Jainas, we meet with the *Paṭṭāvalis* or succession of pontiffs. And we have evidences to believe that considerable attention was paid to the matter in connection with the royal families and that *Vamsāvalis* or *Rājāvalis*, lists of the lineal successions of kings were compiled and kept from very early times. Besides, there was the custom of keeping dynastic archives, day books and official records. Hemādri, the famous Sanskrit author, was what was known as *Sri Karaṇādhipa*, or superintendent of the

business connected with the drawing up of documents giving the full pedigree with historical items.

I conclude the subject by citing an evidence of second century B.C.—a passage from *Milinda Pañho* or “Questions of Menander” which clearly testifies to the custom of recording history in Ancient India.

“Again the king said to Nagasena “Does all thought come from the memory or is it also imparted by others”.

Nagasena : “It is received in both ways, it comes from the memory, and is imparted by others Thought is produced in 16 different ways. (1) From reflection. (2) From the instruction of others. (3) From consciousness. (4) From satisfaction. (5) From aversion. (6) From similarity. (7) From separation or analysis..... (14) From books—a monarch wishes to know *what has occurred in former times in his kingdom* ; he therefore sends for the *chronicles* that were then written and by reading them he learns it.”

(No ancient nation has written a text book of history to be taught in our colleges. While our Ancient Indians showed considerable historical sense, they have, like the Greeks and Romans, left abundant historical materials from which to-day scholars write histories—Political, Constitutional, Economic and Cultural according to the needs of the times. /

Śaṣṭyabdhānām śaṣṭiryādā vyatītāstr. yaśca yugapālah |
Tryadhikā viṃśatī rāḍastodeka sama janmanas त्रीतः ॥

Navāṣṭā navakeṣveṣu sthāneṣu triṣu jāgata |
Vikramāditya kālasya parimāṇamidaṁ sphuṭam |
Vim (?) sateṣvaṣṭasu viṣvaṣṭam (sa) pañcāśadadhi keṣu ca |
Śaka Kālasya tasya parimāṇa midam bhavet |
Saṁvatsare caturviṁse varttamane kharābhidhe |
Pin ayādika-kālasya rajye śakropamānake ॥

IX.—Nibbānam.

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The *Vimānavatthu aṭṭha kathā* explains *nibbānam* as *nittan-hābhāvam*, or the state of the absence of *taṇhā*, or thirst, viz., that particular craving which causes rebirth and which is threefold in character, *kāmatāṇhā*, *bhavataṇhā* and *vibhavataṇhā*. Nibbāna is the extinction of this *taṇhā* and therefore of its results which are *rāga* (lust), *desa* (hatred) and *moha* (delusion). *Taṇhā* causes *bhava*; ¹ *taṇhānirodha* (cessation of thirst) is therefore *bhavanirodha* (cessation of *bhava*) which is *Nibbānam*. This does not mean the extinction of the soul, the existence of which is not admitted by early Buddhism

This *Nibbāna* can be attained in this present life (*diṭṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā*).² It is not necessary for one to die in order to attain it. But he must be a monk; for the layman at the moment of attainment of liberation must either die or enter the order, "he who has gained Nirvāṇa can not remain in secular life."³

This is erroneously called *sa-upādisesa nibbāna* (with residue of life) as distinguished from *nirupādisesa nibbāna* (without residue). *Sa-upādisesa nibbāna* is, however, a contradiction in terms, for *nibbāna*, as the *Mahāniddeśa* points out, is devoid of upādhi (bases or substrate of rebirth⁴), "*upādhiviveko vuccati nibbānam*"; and this comes out clearly in the query of Vangīsa

¹ *Pin.* i, 1-2; *Paṭiccasamuppādo* (with the suppression of the intermediate link *upādāna*, but the *chaṇa* is not regular. See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, page 94; H.O.S. iii. (1922) 83, 84; S. N. ii, 115 ff., A.N. v. 9. Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lect.* p. 100.

² D.N. iii. 132; *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 29; *Buddhism*, p. 173.

³ Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, p. 131; *Pts. of Controversy*, pp. 157-8; M.N. i. 483.

⁴ I. *Book of Kindred Sayings*, p. 9, 6 n.

to the Master regarding his teacher Nigrodhakappa : “ *Nibbāyi so ādu sa-upādiseso?* Has he attained Nirvāṇa or is he *sa-upādiseso?* ”

The way to *nirvāṇa* lies through the Four Paths (i) *Sōtāpatti*, stream-winning ; (ii) *Sakadāgāmī*, once-returning ; (iii) *Anāgāmī*, never-returning, and (iv) *Arahatta* (Arahantship) and the Four Fruits.⁵ One of the conditons in the attainment of *sotāpatti* is a renunciation of the three fetters (*samyojanāni*), the first of which is *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, false belief in individuality.⁶ The order of the four stages need not be strictly followed.

The Arahant however is very human. His body can be seized, cut up, and shared by crows, and vultures ; and can get bound by ropes and chains.⁷ He has attained the *summum bonum*, the intuition of the four noble Truths, the knowledge *natthi dāni punabbhav* (all rebirth is at an end). “The outward form remains, it is true, while life lasts, but the essential result is achieved, and what happens to the monk when physical death sets in cannot alter this fact.”⁸

Now that he has attained the highest good, should he live longer? Should he not end life? But he is indifferent and does neither crave for life nor for death. The Master did not teach suicide⁹ though he allowed it to Godhika,¹⁰ as he was diseased.

It may be argued that the Arahant may fall away. But no, he cannot fall away. For his *Karma* is barren ;¹¹ he has arrived at a state of not being liable to be reborn in the future and unable

⁵ D.N. iii, 132 ; 227 ; 277.

⁶ On the theory of the soul, see *Buddhist Psy. Ethics*, p. 247, n. 2.

⁷ *Pts. of Contro.*, p. 160.

⁸ Keith, *op. cit.* 128 Cf. the *jīvanmukta* of the Vedānta and the Upanishads Deussen, *Phil. of Upa.*, p. 356.

⁹ H.O.S. iii, 438ff ; not forbidden in case of disease ; Cf. and *Contra*. Jaina practice *bhaktapānapratyākkhānamuktī, itcara, āngitamaraṇam*.

¹⁰ H.O.S. iii, 380. Māra in the form of a pillar of smoke searched in vain for the elder's rebirth-consciousness, *paṭisandhicittam* ; 1 *Book of K. S.* 150-51 ; cf. Vakkali's suicide, S. N. 123f.

H.O.S. iii 217-13.

to reproduce itself in the next existence' ;¹² "*abhabbo so nava thānāni ajjhācaritum* ".¹³

Niḍbāna, therefore, though negatively worded, is no mere negation. The consciousness that truth is realised, rebirth is at an end, and this is the last life is a positive consciousness—that of Supreme Happiness, Crown of Happiness, the highest bliss, "shelter", the Ambrosial, Goal, the *accanta sukham*, the *accanta sānti*, the *anuttarayogakkhema*. Of the fifty synonyms of *nibbāna* given in the *Veracanahāra* of the *Nettipakaraṇam* (p. 55) some indicate positive ideas, such as, *saccam*, *param*, *nipunam* etc. It is, therefore, viewed by the Buddhists with a cheerfulness, and there is nothing joyless, nothing pessimistic about it. His task is done, his quest won, his sorrow slain, the endless round of birth put an end to — this is the *highest state of bliss*, the *Now* he has attained to and *is* enjoying ; he does not look forward to any state higher than this highest — the Future, the Transcendental. What is this state ? Language cannot fully express it ; for language is limited to concepts and terms of empiric life and would therefore be misleading.

II

What happens when the saint or Arahant comes by physical death (*Kālam karoti*) ?

- (i) Does his existence utterly cease ? or
- (ii) Is it continued to another domain of existence, though no longer capable of empirical description being sundered from empirical existence ?

Answer in the affirmative to the first question implies the doctrine of annihilation or Nihilism. Since *Nibbāna* precludes rebirth, answer in the affirmative to the second question implies the existence of an absolute self of the Upanishadic type.

To Yamaka the heretic who understood Buddha's doctrine to mean that on the dissolution of the body the priest is annihilated¹⁴ Sāriputta explains the correct view that *rūpa*,

¹² *Ibid.* p. 380. (*Vissuddhimaggo*, c. XXII).

¹³ D.N. iii, 133 ; A. N. iii, 378 ; *Pts. of Contro.* pp. 69 ff.

¹⁴ H.O.S. iii, 138 ff. cf. also Pāyāsi's search for the soul, D.N. ii, 816 ff.

vedanā, saññā, saṃkhāra and *viññāna* "is not mine, this I am not, this is not my Ego", that *rūpa*, etc., are not severally or unitedly the saint, nor is the saint comprised in, nor distinct from *rūpa*, etc., nor is the saint a something having *rūpa*, etc.¹⁵ They are transitory, evil, not an Ego and due to causes.

Two conclusions are deducible—

- (i) The nature of the present existence of the Tathāgata being uncomprehended, it would be absurd to make any statement with regard to him after physical death.
- (ii) There is something more than the five attachment groups in making up the Tathāgata. "Apart from the mortal constituents he is *something real but ineffable*."¹⁶

Khemā does not reply to Pasenadi's question as to the continued existence of the Tathāgata, for 'he is incapable of being reckoned.' The Master did not reply to Vacchagotta's questions "The *attā* exists? exists not?" for an answer in the affirmative would mean his acceptance of the theory of *sassatavāda* or 'the permanent Self of the Upanishadas' and in the negative of the theory of *ucchedavāda* (nihilism). His acceptance of *natthi attā* would have bewildered Vacchagotta the more—"me *nanu, pubbe attā so etarahi natthi*." The Buddha does not especially negate an absolute, but that is no warrant for our fondly imagining that there was something real of the nature of absolute about it.

Both Uttiya and Mālunkyaṇḍita ask the Buddha "What happens to the Saint after physical death?" and nine other kindred questions. The answer invariably is "*etaṃ pi avyākataṃ mayā* : this even has not been elucidated by me." When Mālunkyaṇḍita frets, the Buddha replies that such questions profit not, even as much as the particulars about the name and *gotra* of the physician or surgeon or the man who wounded him, the character of the bow, string, etc., profit not the

¹⁵ Cf. M.N. i. 140f.

¹⁶ Keith, *op cit.*, p. 66.

man wounded with a poisoned arrow. Such questions have nothing to do with the fundamentals of religion nor conduce to the attainment of Supreme Wisdom and Nirvāṇa.¹⁷

Vacchagotta becomes puzzled when to his several questions, viz., "Where is the Tathāgata *reborn, not reborn, both reborn and not reborn, neither reborn nor not reborn?*" the Buddha replies "nothing fits the case". Vacchagotta is made to admit, if any one were to ask, when fire is extinct (*aggi nibbuto*), in which direction—east, west, north or south—the fire has gone, that "nothing fits the case, for the fire, which depended on fuel of grass and wood, when that fuel has all gone, and it can get no other, being thus without nutriment, is said to be extinct." The Buddha pointed out that in exactly the same way all form, etc., by which one could predicate the existence of the saint has been abandoned, uprooted,.....not liable to spring up again in future. The saint who has been released from what is styled form, etc., is deep, immeasurable, unfathomable, like the mighty ocean.

The Master was perfectly right in revealing only what was for *dukkhassa antakiriyāya* (cessation of misery), what was *bhūtaṃ* (true), *tacchaṃ* (fact) and *atthasamhitam* (beneficial to mankind).¹⁸ He did not encourage dallying with metaphysical speculations about the ultimate questions because they conduced not to that end. About this he is the sole and ultimate authority¹⁹. "To the heretics who belong to another sect, to another faith, to another persuasion, to another discipline, profound is this doctrine, recondite and difficult of comprehension, good, excellent and not to be reached by *mere reasoning*, subtle and intelligible only to the wise."

Thus the exact character of Nibbāna is left undetermined (*avyākata*) by the Buddha, though of course it has been described as "*gambhīro, appameyyo, duppariyogāho* like the *mahā samuddo*". To regard Nibbāna, therefore, as "a now incon-

¹⁷ A.N. v. 193-195. D.N. i. 187f. M.N. i. (63 Sutta). H.O.S. iii, 117-22.

¹⁸ D.N. iii, 134, 135.

¹⁹ D.N. i, 225f. H.O.S. iii, 308-13.

ceivable but a Certain Beyond " (as Oldenberg has done) or the "Transcendental" Nibbāna would not be quite correct for it would I consider, be quite unfair to the Buddha to pin him to an analogy which he could not have helped using in illustrating his point.

To the Indian mind the extinction of fire may not mean annihilation, it only ceases to be visible, and 'returns to the primitive, pure, invisible state of fire in which it exists prior to its manifestation in the form of the visible fire'. The *Śvetāsvatara* compares Supreme Self as a fire whose fuel has been consumed (*dagdhendhanamivānalam*), and is therefore *anupādhi* or *nirupādhi* which accords excellently with *nirupadisesa nibbānadhātu*. A passage in the *Udāna* closely corresponds to a verse in the *Kīṭha* (5.15). The word *Nāmarūpa* is again common to both.²⁰ *Avidyā* is primarily responsible for imposing *upādhis* on the Supreme *ātman* and comes to regard him, thus limited, as *jīva ātman* (individual soul). *Avidyā* (*avijjā*) is also at the head of *paṭiccasamuppādam* or the causal nexus of the Buddhists. The subtle body—*bhūtāśraya*, *karmāśraya* and *viññānamaya ātman* of the Vedānta and the *liṅgam* of the Sāṃkhya—has its parallel in Buddhism—*paṭisandhicittam*, and *gandharva* and *atīvāhita*²¹ (of the Sarvāstivādins). The parallels brought together may lead one to the conclusion that the systems have distinction without difference and that early Buddhism conceived Nibbāna as an *ideal* state, something of the nature of the Upanishadic self, call it Absolute, Permanent or Transcendental. Early Buddhism emphatically protests against views of self (*sakkāyaditṭhi*), against the cult of the *ātman*—animistic²² (whether pantheistic or individualistic) or absolutistic.²³ The view that there is a permanent entity residing in a perishable frame (*attavāda*) is the worst of heresies.

²⁰ Muṇḍaka (3.28) ; Praśna (6.5) ; Deussen, Op. cit., p. 352.

²¹ Keith, op. cit., pp. 207-208.

²² D.N. ii, 66f.

²³ M.N. i. 140f, contains emphatic condemnation of the Upanishadic self.

Says the Master, " Since neither Self nor aught belonging to Self, brethren, can really and truly exist, the view which holds that this, [I] who am ' world ' who am ' Self ' shall hereafter live permanent, persisting, eternal, unchanging, yea, abide eternally, is not this utterly and entirely a foolish doctrine ? " ²⁴ Sāti is rebuked by the Master for holding that " *Viññāna* persists and is reborn after death *unchanged* ". The Master declares that *viññāna* and *citta* are not the *self*, ²⁵ and arise from a cause ; the *paṭiccasamuppāda* negates the intervention of self. If in the Pāli canon expressions such as ' self-advantages ' ' taming the self ' , etc., have been used, they are mere conventions of language,—the exigency of having to use empirical expressions. *Avijjā* is not exactly *avidyā* ; it is ignorance with regard to Four Noble Truths ; it is not even essential to *paṭiccasamuppāda*, for we miss it in D.N. ii, 32, 56. ²⁶

The indeterminate character of Nirvāna still remains in the Hīnayāna school ²⁷ and even in the *Vajracchedikā*. ²⁸

Keith does not approve of the attempt by scholars to attribute *idealism* to early Buddhism—subjective, objective or nihilistic—an attempt arising from the temptation to read back a later idea into the past—a thing fatal to historical accuracy. ²⁹

Nibbāna, then, is left *avyākata*, ineffable, indeterminate, a mystery by the Buddha. Why lift the veil ?

²⁴ M. N. i. 138 ; *Buddhism*, p. 52, *Pts. of Contro.*, p. 62 ; I. S. N. v. 10 ; *Bk. of K. S.*, p. 169 ; *Milinda* (i. 45) ; *Visuddhimaggo* (c. 16) ; H.O.S. iii. 146.

²⁵ M. V. i. 6. For the beautiful exposition of its nature see S.N. ii. 95 *Re.* its descent in D. N. (Mahānidāna Sutta) see Keith, *op. cit.* p. 77f., *Pts. of Contro.* 125, *Buddhism*, p. 133.

²⁶ Keith, *op. cit.* p. 99 ; *Buddhism*, 94.

²⁷ Keith, *op. cit.* pp. 214-15.

²⁸ Sans. Tran. of the Khotanese Text in the Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature in Eastern Turkistan. By A. F. R. Hoernle. " *Tathāgata itī Subhuta ucyate nakvaciḍ gato nakvataściḍ āgataḥ*, etc."

²⁹ Keith, *op. cit.* p. 60.

X.—Transliteration of Devanāgarī Alphabet to be adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devā-nāgarī	Roman.	Devā-nāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r̥	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
ऌ	l̥	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	ḷ
च	ch	• (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	◌ (Anunāsika)	m̐̄
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	× (Jihvāmūlīya)	ḥ̄
ञ	ñ	⌋ (Upadhmānīya)	ḥ̇
ट	ṭ	₡ (Avagraha)	ˆ
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	ˆ
ड	ḍ	Svarita	ˆˆ
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	ˆˆˆ
ण	ṇ		

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of the Library Committee of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

A MEETING of the Library Committee of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society was held on Sunday, the 13th April 1924, at 9 A.M. at the Society's Office, High Court, Patna.

PRESENT

1. E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., Honorary Secretary (President).
2. W. V. Duke, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., Honorary Treasurer.
3. K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar.-at-Law, Editor.
4. Rai Sahib M. Ghosh, M.A., Honorary Librarian.

1. Proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

2. Resolved that the subject catalogue of the books be prepared but not printed. Another cabinet to be purchased in which will be placed a card index of the authors of the books of the Library arranged alphabetically.

3. Resolved that Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri be written to to inform the Librarian as to the nature of numbering the books in the Library of the Greer Bhumihar Brahman College where the Dewy system has been adopted recently.

4. Resolved that the Council be asked to sanction the retention of the post of the assistant to the Librarian for another three months.

5. Resolved that lists be prepared of new books to be purchased for the Library.

6. Resolved that three almirahs with glass doors on both sides be purchased from the general fund and necessary repairs to almirahs be made.

7. Resolved that one dozen wooden book blocks be prepared.

8. Resolved that 1,000 copies of the slip for taking loan of books of the Library be printed by the Secretary.

9. Resolved that the list of rare books as prepared by the Librarian be kept in the Library.

10. Resolved that there is no need of keeping a paid daftari for the present, but that books or sets of journals requiring to be bound may be sent to Hazaribagh Reformatory School for binding them.

11. Resolved that it is necessary to note in the stock book the source and character of the receipts of books.

12. Resolved that the voucher for books be numbered and dated and entered in the register for the issue of books. The vouchers to be returned to the borrower on return of the book.

M. GHOSH,

Honorary Librarian.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 24th August 1924.

PRESENT.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (in the chair).

Professor J. N. Sarkar.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri.

Mr. W. V. Duke.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 16th March 1924.

2. The following new members were elected :—

Sri Gopinath Deb, Tatwanidhi, M.R.A.S., M.B.D.M., P. O.
Tekkali (Ganjam).

Mr. Hazarimal Baroliya, Sri Mahabirji Mills, Darbhanga.

Dr. Narendranath Das, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., 96, Amherst
Street, Calcutta.

Babu Vinayak Lal Khanna, Honorary Secretary, The
Hindu Library, 12, Shib Thakur's Lane, Calcutta.

Babu Surya Narayan, B.A., B.L., Translator, High Court,
Patna.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological
Survey, Eastern Circle, Calcutta.

Dr. Suniti Chatterji, Professor of Phonetics, Calcutta
University.

Babu Karunakar Kar, B.A., Patna College.

„ Radharamana Chaudhuri, B.A., Patna College.

„ Gopinath Patnaik, B.A., Patna College.

3. Sanctioned the employment of a temporary Library Assistant on Rs. 50 a month up to the end of July 1924.

4. Resolved that the Society accept the offer, contained in Government letter No. 1359-60-E., dated the 8th April 1924, of certain sets of early East India postage stamps.

5. Resolved that Pandit Vishnu Lal (Mithila Research Pandit) is not entitled to draw halting allowance for the period he was on deputation to work under Dr. Banarji Sastri in Muzaffarpur.

6. Resolved that the Society seek admission as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society.

7. Considered the question of preparing for publication and printing the materials available for a catalogue raisonné of the Sanskrit manuscripts catalogued by the Society's Research Pandits in Tirhut and Orissa.

Read a report by Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Banarji Sastri relating to the manuscripts catalogued in Tirhut.

Resolved that before making any definite proposals to Government, the matter be given further consideration.

8. Read Audit Note No. 202 of 1923-24 on the Society's accounts.

Resolved, with reference to paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Audit Note, that in view of the serious inconvenience involved in passing all receipts (consisting, as these often do, of petty items) through the Bank pass-book, the Honorary Treasurer be authorized to recoup his permanent advance from current receipts as well as by drawing on the Bank, provided the cash retained in hand does not exceed Rs. 100.

9. Adopted the revised Budget Estimate of the Society for 1924-25 and the Budget Estimate for 1925-26.

10. Read letter No. 389, dated the 5th May 1924, from the Editor of the Gaekwar's Oriental Series.

Resolved that he be supplied, as requested, with a set of all back numbers of the Society's Journal previous to 1921.

11. Read letter No. 410, dated the 10th June 1924, from the Curator of the Dacca Museum, desiring an exchange of publications.

Resolved that the request cannot be complied with.

12. Read a post card, dated the 27th June 1924, from the Secretary, Gujrat Puratatwa Mandir, Ahmedabad, with reference to a proposed exchange of publications.

Resolved that the proposal cannot be accepted.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a special general meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 27th September 1924.

THIS meeting was held to elect a Fellow and Member of the Senate of Patna University in place of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, whose term of office as a Fellow elected by the Society had expired.

Thirteen members of the Society were present. Mr. H. Lambert was voted to the chair.

The Honorary General Secretary explained the difficulties which he had experienced in conducting this, the first contested election of its kind, held by the Society. With the permission of the Chair, he moved the two following resolutions, the object of which was to obviate some of these difficulties at future elections :—

- (1) Resolved that no proxy form be accepted which is not forwarded direct to the Honorary General Secretary by the member giving the proxy.
- (2) Resolved that no member, having given a proxy in favour of one member, be permitted to cancel it afterwards in favour of another member.

These resolutions having been duly seconded were adopted, one member dissenting.

The meeting then proceeded to the election, voting being by ballot. Mr. D. N. Sen was appointed teller. The votes

having been counted, the result of the election was declared by the Chairman as follows :—

	Votes.
Mr. H. R. Batheja	46
Dr. A. P. Banarji Sastri	24
Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri	11
Mr. H. R. Batheja was declared duly elected.	

H. LAMBERT,
Chairman.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary General Secretary.

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[PART IV.

LEADING ARTICLE.

Presentation of a Bust of Sir Edward Gait.

On the 3rd December, 1924, in the presence of ladies and gentlemen invited by the President (Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill) and the Committee of the Patna Museum the Maharaja of Sonapur in presenting to the Museum a marble bust of Sir Edward Gait, the Founder of the Museum and the Research Society, delivered the following speech :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I beg to offer first of all my grateful thanks to our Governor Sir Henry Wheeler for his having graciously presided over the ceremony of unveiling to-day in this Museum the statue of Sir Edward A. Gait, who will always be remembered as a founder of this institution.

I feel exceedingly delighted to-day that what I most devoutly wished is being realised now, and I have had the opportunity of speaking a word regarding him who has always been a kind friend to me. It is not the occasion when I can speak of the excellent administration of our province during the régime of Sir Edward A. Gait, nor can I allude here to my deep feelings of love and reverence for Sir Edward, I confine myself entirely

to that department of his activities with which this Museum is inseparably connected. In this matter, too, my reference will be but broadly general and extremely brief.

I am perfectly confident that there will be no exaggeration to say, that by organising and instituting the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Sir Edward Gait has inaugurated a new epoch of culture in this province. By merely referring to the list of members of this Society and by turning over the pages of contents of the Journal of the Society, we can clearly see that many persons who did not formerly evince any interest in the matter of scientific research have been taking some lively interest in it, and some capable scholars have come forward to execute much praiseworthy work. Anthropological research having been brought within the scope of this learned Society, a very highly useful work is sure to be executed in this land of diverse races with various ethnic characteristics.

This province ranks very high in the matter of historical importance having been in the past the field of activities of him who has justly been designated the Light of Asia, of Chandragupta who is known to have first become the Emperor of all India, of Debanam Piya—Piya Dasi whose edicts and monuments are of undying interest, and of many rulers of Orissa, who have bequeathed to us their culture in many temples of classic beauty. This Museum on that account is bound to grow in importance with the relics of a glorious past. In my own humble way I have taken one apartment of the Museum to fill with such relics of our historical past as may be of genuine interest to the scholars. I have been taking a lively interest in the scope and object of our Research Society since the day of its origin and on that account I have been greatly honoured by being made a Vice-patron of the Society. I know I do not deserve this honour for I am not a scholar, but I may say, that I have always lent in my humble way my helpful hand to the scholars, this I hope to do by pushing on proper research in my State under the direction of one or two competent scholars. The result hitherto achieved will shortly be published in the form of

a book entitled "Orissa in the Making" containing a foreword by Sir Edward Gait.

It is an uncommon good fortune that I have been permitted to present a marble statue of Sir Edward Gait for being placed in this temple of research. The money value of my present was bound to be low but I knew that this present would be regarded highly precious being a representation of Sir Edward Gait. I earnestly request that those who have assembled here will cordially wish Sir Edward Gait a long happy life just at this moment when his marble representation will be unveiled by our beloved Governor Sir Henry Wheeler.

His Excellency Sir HENRY WHEELER addressed as follows :—
MAHARAJA SIR BIR MITRODAYA SINGH DEO, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, —

On the part of us all, and the Museum authorities in particular, let me express to you, Maharaja Sahib, our keen thanks for the gift with which you have enriched this institution. It is private effort and contributions which in other countries have largely built up the collections contained in world-famous galleries, and if we are ever to reach a similar standard here we must look to corresponding sources. It is not the first time you have helped the Museum, or indeed, along with the Maharani Sahiba, have given liberal donations to praiseworthy objects in British India. Since you are in a sense our neighbour only your generosity is all the more appreciated.

It is not, of course, merely for its intrinsic worth that we value the bust of Sir Edward Gait which you have presented to the Museum, but more for the kindly thought that prompted you to this act, and for the memories associated with the individual whose name will thus be perpetuated. It is a fortunate thing that the immense variety and historic past of India present so many fields for pleasant exploitation by officials who spend their lives in this country. We all know the officer whose soul is buried in his files and whose horizon is bounded by red tape ; happily there are not many, for narrowness of view and contrariness of temper are usually the result of such absorption. But

although work—and often somewhat wearisome work—is necessarily our chief pre-occupation, yet luckily there are vistas of temporary escape. In the field of money-making the official does not frequently tread, and if he seeks to do so he usually falls. The arena of sport has attractions—and rightly so—for many, and generations of officers have gained health and a closer acquaintance with their charges and their people by walking the jungles and wading through the rice fields. Games of all kinds are merely an inheritance which we bring with us from the West. But research in the deep mines of Oriental history, literature, art, economics and ethnology affords an opportunity for mental relaxation after dull official toil, of which many have availed themselves and many, I trust, will continue to do so. When the British official is stigmatised as a soulless bureaucrat, attracted here by the illusory prospect of pecuniary gain and autocratic power, we may well take pride in the amount of solid work which has been done by the services in these intellectual fields, with profit to themselves and to India no less. It is this aspect of official life that we are particularly reminded of by to-day's ceremony, and which you have rightly stressed.

Sir Edward Gait was an outstanding example of an officer who devoted himself to these studies and acquired a wide reputation as an authority in them. With his administrative career all here are fully acquainted; suffice it to say that his great ability brought him to the Lieutenant-Governorship of this province, in which he closed an eminent career in India. But it is rather with his work as a scholar that we are concerned to-day. Posted to Assam at the beginning of his service, the wealth of ethnological material in that corner of the country must have stimulated his constant interest in that subject, and I imagine that it is to his influence that that province owes a model series of monographs on the different tribes that reside within it. As a historian he published two works connected with this the scene of his early labours, to wit "The Koch Kings of Kamrup" and a history of Assam. Naturally his talent was utilised in the administrative sphere which particularly demanded it, and which equally gave him the opportunity of

developing it. As Superintendent of Census in Assam in 1891, in a similar capacity in Bengal in 1901, when he was also joint author of the report for all India, and as Census Commissioner for India in 1911, he was connected closely with every Census which occurred during his time, and those who ever read the reports with which these enumerations terminate are well aware of the mass of information bearing upon the social structure—both ancient and modern—which is embodied in them. That he should have spent so large a part of his official life in work of this description is proof of the estimation in which his ability and enthusiasm were held. He was a contributor to the Imperial Gazetteer and to the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, while his miscellaneous articles were numerous; only the other day I noticed that he was presiding at one of the meetings of a Congress of Religions in London.

It is particularly appropriate that his bust should find a place in the Patna Museum, because, though others who are still among us, of course, co-operated, it is Sir Edward Gait who was practically the moving spirit, and to whose zeal and energy we largely owe not only the Museum but the Research Society which is closely connected with it. He was the chief speaker at the meeting which inaugurated the Society in 1915, and as president delivered erudite and interesting addresses at the annual meetings of four out of the five years of his term. They afford ample evidence of the drive which he was bringing to bear in furthering the interests of the Society. It was during this time that the Museum was founded and housed here. He himself was a contributor to its contents. It is, no doubt, in size a small institution compared, for instance, with Calcutta, but though I, alas, cannot speak with Sir Edward Gait's authority, I understand it contains exhibits of the greatest interest and importance. In rescuing these from the risk of oblivion no small service was rendered to Bihar and Orissa. But in all this Sir Edward Gait sowed seed which is still bearing fruit. He laid down the lines of ethnological work which, with the support of the local Government, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray is

still continuing, and the Research Society, despite a temporary depression after the Lieutenant-Governor's departure, is once more (largely thanks to Sir Hugh McPherson and Sir John Bucknill) a live and active body. All this is no mean achievement, and we can best show our appreciation of what Sir Edward Gait did in directions by continuing the good work of which he laid the foundation. The bust which I will now unveil will ever recall the founder of the Museum and of organised historical research in this province, and the highest tribute to his memory will be if others are encouraged to follow in his footsteps.

His Excellency thereupon unveiled the bust in the corridor of the Museum. The bust is a well-executed piece of sculpture.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 30th November 1924.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, Vice-President (in the chair).

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 24th August 1924.

2. The following new members were elected :—

Rai Bahadur Ram Ran Vijaya Singh, Bankipore.

Maulavi Saiyid Muhammad Husain, M.L.C., Bankipore.

Babu Murari Prasad, Vakil of the High Court, Patna.

Babu Krishna Behari Upadhyaya, B.A., Benares Hindu University.

3. Considered the revision of the scale of pay of the office clerk.

Resolved that, in view of the extra duties which he now discharges in the Library, he be placed on the same scale of pay as his predecessor, viz., Rs. 50—5—75, with effect from the 1st December 1924.

4. Considered letter No. 3108-E., dated the 31st October 1924, from Government in the Ministry of Education, with

reference to the resumption of the work of cataloguing palm-leaf MSS. in the district of Puri.

Resolved that the Government be asked to place Pandit Visvanath Rath once more on deputation for this work. The Pandit should, in the first instance, take up at Patna, under the direction of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. Banerji Sastri, the work of preparing a catalogue of MSS. already dealt with. This should occupy him some two or three months. He will then continue his search for MSS. in Orissa, under the Society's supervision ; and the Council think it would be well to utilise his services to make a preliminary survey of the valuable private libraries which are known to exist in the Jajpur sub-division of the Cuttack district. The Council are not in a position to name any period by which the work in contemplation will be complete ; but they suggest that Government be kept informed of the results of the search by means of an annual progress report.

5. Re-considered the question of the publication of a catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., based on the materials collected by the Society's Mithila Pandit (see item 7 of the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council).

Resolved that the catalogue be published in 8 volumes, two volumes to be published annually, and that 500 copies of each be printed. The Khadga Vilas Press to be asked to submit a specimen of their work ; and if this is found to be satisfactory, the printing to be placed in their hands, agreeably to their estimate No. 623, dated the 7th August 1924. The estimated cost (including binding) is Rs. 1,250 per volume, or Rs. 10,000 in all.

Resolved, further, that the Hon'ble the Vice-President be desired to approach the Hon'ble the Maharajahdiraja of Darbhanga with the request that he will defray the cost of publication.

6. Considered letter, dated the 19th October 1924, from Mr. Oldham, with reference to the publication of the Shahabad volume of the Buchanan Journal, which he is editing.

Resolved (1) that his suggestion as to page-headings be

adopted ; (2) that he be asked to include the list of minerals, as an appendix.

7. Resolved that members of the Society desiring to purchase back numbers of the Journal be supplied with these at half-price.

8. Appointed Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh Honorary Joint Secretary in place of Mr. D. N. Sen, appointed Honorary Treasurer.¹

9. Considered letter, dated the 5th August 1924, from the Librarian, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, proposing an exchange of publications.

Resolved that the Museum be supplied with the Society's Journal in exchange for the Museum's publications ; and that back numbers of the Journal be supplied in exchange for a complete set (if possible) of the Museum's ethnological publications, copies of which have not already been presented to the Society.

10. Read letter, dated the 15th October 1924, from the Librarian, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, agreeing to an exchange of publications.

Resolved that the Librarian, D.M.G., be asked to supply back numbers of his Journal which are wanting in our set in exchange for a complete set of the Society's Journal.

11. Read letter, dated the 18th August 1924, from Messrs. Blackwell Limited, with reference to their efforts to obtain for the Society a complete set of the Hakluyt Society's publications.

Resolved that as the possibility of obtaining a complete set of the Hakluyt Society's publications appears to be exceedingly remote, copies of those publications should now be ordered for the Library which are in print, and which, from their subject-matter, are of immediate interest to members of this Society.

¹ The following resolution, dated the 30th September 1924, was adopted by the Council by circulation of papers among the members :—

Resolved that Mr. D. N. Sen, Honorary Joint Secretary, be appointed Honorary Treasurer of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, with effect from the date on which Mr. W. V. Duke vacates this office.

12. Read and recorded letter No. 2914-E., dated the 28th September 1924, from Government in the Ministry of Education with reference to the distribution of sets of early East Indian Company stamps.

13. Read letter, dated the 16th October 1924, from the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, intimating that the Council of that Society has moved for the admission of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society as an Associate Society.

Resolved that the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society be cordially thanked for the privilege extended to this Society.

14. Read and recorded Audit Note, No. 87 of 1924-25, on the accounts of the Society from January to July 1924.

15. Resolved that Dr. Banerji Sastri be asked, in consultation with Pandit Balgovinda Malaviya, to arrange a date for the proposed visit of members of the Society to the latter's library in Patna City.

16. Resolved that the next Quarterly Meeting of the Society, at which Mr. D. N. Sen will read a paper, be held at Sinha Institute on the 13th December 1924.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at the Sinha Institute,
Patna, on the 13th December 1924.**

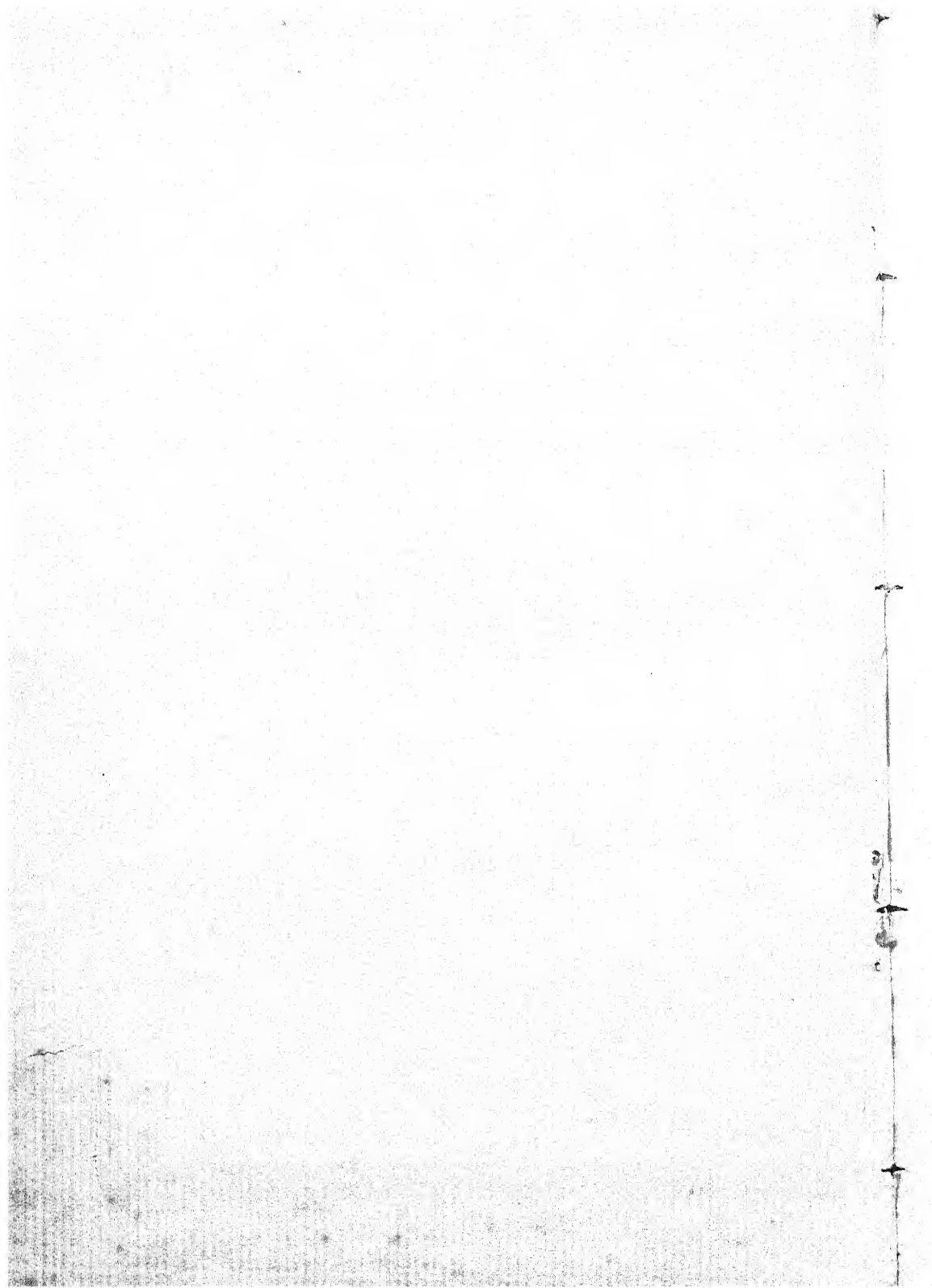
Mr. V. H. Jackson occupied the chair; and some thirty members and visitors were present.

Mr. D. N. Sen read a paper on "The Jogimara Cave Inscription; is it Buddhistic?"

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal contributed to the exceedingly interesting discussion which followed the reading of the paper. Mr. D. N. Sen replied.

Mr. H. Lambert proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal for having very kindly provided tea; and Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary General Secretary.



THE
RĀJANĪTI-RATNĀKARA

BY
CHANDĒŚVARA

EDITED BY
KASHI-PRASAD JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.),
*Of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law ; Sometime Hon. Scholar of Jesus College,
Oxford ; University (Davis) Chinese Scholar, Oxford (1909) ; Author of
Tagore Lectures (1917) on "Development of Hindu Law in
Manu and Yājñavalkya," "Hindu Polity," etc.*

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PATNA.

1924.

राजनीतिरत्नाकरः

श्रीचण्डेश्वरेण विरचितः ।

श्रीकाशीप्रसादजायसवाल्लेन
संस्कृतः ।

विहारोङ्ग-रिसर्च-सोसाइटीति
पण्डितसमित्या

कलिकातास्थ वैप्टिस्टमिशनसुद्रणयन्त्रालये मुद्राययित्वा

प्रकाशितः ।

विक्रमाब्दाः १९८१ ।

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED

TO

SIR EDWARD ALBERT GAIT .

AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS SCHOLARSHIP AND IN
GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF
INDIAN HISTORY AND
LITERATURE

BY

THE EDITOR

RĀJANĪTĪ RATNĀKARA

INTRODUCTION

This book, the RĀJA-NĪTĪ-RATNĀKARA, came to light as a result of the search for Sanskrit manuscripts instituted in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, by SIR EDWARD GAIT, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Province and Founder and President of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. It was decided to commence the search in two centres—Puri and Mithilā (Darbhanga), and the work was entrusted by the Government to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. In 1918 the search in Mithilā was undertaken, and as Honorary General Secretary to the Research Society I directed and supervised the work.

While examining the list of the manuscripts catalogued during the first few months, I noticed the title of the present book and ordered a copy of the manuscript to be made for me. It was an agreeable surprise to come across a book on Hindu Politics composed in the Middle Ages, and that by a well-known lawyer of the status of Chanḍeśvara.

It was understood that I should edit the work for the Society (*vide* the Annual Address by the President, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. V, p. 13). But when the whole text had gone through the Press the new Executive of the Society in 1920 decided that no funds were available for the publication. The publication had to be held back until Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna city came forward with a handsome donation which has enabled us to place the book before the public. It had been hoped to publish a series of Sanskrit texts of the Province not yet printed. Had SIR EDWARD GAIT remained in the Province longer the scheme would have matured and the hope realized.

The edition is prepared from three MSS. called by me

(क), (ख) and (ग). (क) belongs to the library of the late Pt.

The Text

Bachchā Jhā who was Principal of Sanskrit College at Muzafferpur. (ख) is the property of Pt. Śiveśvara Śarmā of village Lalaganj, in the Sub-division of Madhubani, in the district of Darbhanga. The MS. called (ग) was lent by Babu Kshemadhārī Simha, a Brahmin Zamindar of Madhubani. None of the MSS. is fully correct. (ख) is the best of the three. They are all written on paper and belong almost to the same period, speaking roughly, the eighteenth century. None of them is dated. They are all in Maithili script. In editing the text I have preserved faithfully the language of the MSS. except correcting the very obvious grammatical inaccuracies resulting from copyists' carelessness and ignorance. I have given variants even of the slightest importance.

It seems that Sanskrit works of authority current in Mithilā had readings differing from the texts current in other parts of India in the time of Chandēśvara. This can be seen by reference to my foot-notes printed under the text. In this connection I may cite here the case of the *Kāmandakiya-Nīti* in particular. For the purposes of comparison I obtained an old copy of *Kāmandaka* from Mithilā through our search-Pandit Vishṇulāl Jhā. It is dated Śāka 1476. It was copied for Gābhūru Khāṇa—son of Rāma-Khāṇa (evidently some big Zamindar) of Kāma-rūpa—who was well-versed in the principles of politics.¹ Quotations from *Kāmandaka* in the *Rāja-Nīti-Ratnākara* do not always tally with the text of the edition prepared by MM. Gaṇapati Śāstrī and published by Travancore Government (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. XIV, 1912), but they agree with the text as found in this Mithilā MS. of Gābhūru Khāṇa.²

¹ आसीत् श्रीरामखणः समरभरतताम्रपर्वैरि-प्रवीरो,
वीरः श्रीकामरूप-प्रभुरखिलमद्योमण्डलस्यात-कीर्तिः ।
तस्माज्जातः पयोधेर्विधुरिव जगदानन्दसुन्दर-श्रीः
श्रीमद्गाम्भीर्यखणः पटुरतिसुकविलसत्तन्नितीतिशास्त्रे ॥ १ ॥
तस्य बुधस्यादेशादतुमुनिवेदेन्दु १४०६ सुन्दरे शास्त्रे ।
कविरत्नेन सयत्नं खलिता कामन्दकी लिखिता ॥ २ ॥

² I have referred to this MS. of the *Kāmandaka-Nīti* in my foot-notes as

The author of this book is Chaṇḍeśvara Mantrin or a Minister of State,¹ "son of the Baron Śrī Vīreśvara, with insignia, the Senior Minister of Peace and War."² Our Chaṇḍeśvara is the same as the author of the Dharma or Smṛiti digest called Ratnākara divided in seven sections, as the Kṛitya R., Dāna R., Vyavahāra R., Śuddhi R., Pūjā R., Vivāda R., and Grihastha Ratnākara. [Out of these the Vivāda Ratnākara has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.³ It deals with law and has been the ruling authority in the Mithilā School of Hindu Law for the past six centuries.] The colophons to the Dāna Ratnākara,⁴ the Vyavahāra Ratnākara,⁵ the Kṛitya Ratnākara,⁶ and MSS. of the Vivāda Ratnākara,⁷ which give the father's name are identical with the colophon in our Rājāniti Ratnākara in respect of the parentage of the author as given above. Chaṇḍeśvara's description by the general word Mantrin in our book finds its correspondence in identical or equivalent terms in his Dharma Ratnākara.³ Chaṇḍeśvara, the famous lawyer of Mithilā, thus is the author of our Rājāniti Ratnākara.

Chaṇḍeśvara started his political and literary career under the last king of the Kārṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā. The last king of that dynasty who ruled over the kingdom of Mithilā

the 'Mithilā MS.' It belongs to Pt. Ādyānātha Miśra of village Pāhitola, Madhubani, Darbhanga.

¹ Mantriṇāmāryaḥ Śrīmān Chaṇḍeśvaraḥ kṛitī (p. 1), Śrī-Chaṇḍeśvara-Mantriṇā (pp. 2, 87).

² इति सप्रक्रियसहस्राभिविग्रहिकठक्कुरयौवैश्वरात्मजश्रीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते . . p. 87 (colophon to our Rāj. R.)

³ Bib. Indica, 1887, ed. by Dīnanātha Vidyālaṅkāra.

⁴ Rajendralala Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Vol. VI, p. 134.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66, Vol. V, p. 243.

⁶ India Office Cat. (No. 1387).

⁷ B. & O. Research Society Cat. No. 2290. The printed edition (Bib. Ind., p. 671) has the addition of *Mantri-vara* after *Ṭhakkura*. The India Office MS. has समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमान instead of सप्रक्रिय (I. O. 1390).

⁸ श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा, *Vivāda R.*, p. 1; *Kṛitya R.*, I. O. 1387, *Dāna R.*, I. O. 1388, *मिथिलाधिप-मन्त्रीन्द्र-श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा Śuddhi R.*, I. O. 1389.

founded by Nānyadeva,¹ was Hari Simha Deva (mis-spelt at times as Hara°).²

He retired before the Imperial forces of Delhi under Ghiyasuddin Tughlak in the winter of 1324.³ From his highly fortified capital of Simraongarh in the Nepal terai,⁴ the king went into Nepal and established himself there.⁵ The Mithilā chronicles give him a reign of 20 years.⁶ He had thus come to the throne about 1304 A.C. Under this king, as Chandēśvara informs us by his introduction to the *Kṛitya Ratnākara*, the grandfather of Chandēśvara, Devāditya, served as the Minister of Peace and War (सन्धि-विग्रह-धरा-पात्रं).⁷ Chandēśvara's father Vireśvara

¹ The history of this dynasty is being discussed by me in J. B. O. R. S. (see IX. 300, X. 37 et seq.).

² *Hari°* is the form given by Vidyāpati in his *Purusha-Parīkṣhā*, II. Subuddhikathā, आसौन्मिथिलायां कार्पाट-कुलसम्भवो हरिसिंहदेवो नाम राजा, तस्य सांख्य-सिद्धान्तपारमार्थी-दण्डनीतिकुशलो गणेश्वर-नामधेयो मन्त्री बभूव, तस्य नाना-विधां सुवर्जितां युत्वा देवगिरीं वास (read राम)-देवो नाम राजा | ed. by Chandā Jhā, Ś. 1810, Darbhanga. p. 67. The same form appears in a Nepal inscription (*I. A.*, 1880, p. 89.) and chronicles (*I. A.* 1884, 414), and also in the living chronicles of Mithilā (which I have verified myself). The only book of Chandēśvara which gives the name of the king is the *Kṛitya Ratnākara* which has been noticed only in the India Office Cat. (No. 1387) and the name there is mis-spelt as *Hara°*. The copy noticed in the Cat. was not ancient. The Research Society notice had an imperfect MS.

³ The exact date according to a chronogram of Mithilā was Pausa Ś. 10, Tuesday, 1245 Ś. (Chandā Jhā, p. 69, n.), the 25th December 1324, which agrees with the date in Persian histories for the presence of the Emperor in Tirhut. See J. B. O. R. S., 1924-25, 'Contributions to the history of Mithilā'. Lévi, Nepal, II. 224, gives the Nepal datum but did not take note of Chandā Jhā's *kṣhiti-sānu*=Tuesday. The Pāñjis of Mithilā alternate between Pausa Ś. 10th and 9th. Lévi's datum has 9th. Both *tithis* in fact fall on Tuesday (Swamikannu Pillai).

⁴ The remains of Simraongarh are in Nepal territory adjoining the British pergunah of Simraon in the district of Champaran.

⁵ *I. A.* 1884, p. 414.

⁶ Mitra, VII. 135.

⁷ Devāditya, in a book composed by his third son Gaṇeśvara copied in Lakshmana-sena era 224 (1343 A. C.) in Nepal by a Maithila resident there, is described as Senior Minister of Peace and War, with all the insignia, सप्रक्रियमहा-साम्नि-वि० ठकुर देवादित्य महासत्त... (महासत्त= Mahā-Mātra or mahā-mabattaka) Haraprasad Shastri, Nepal, Cat. I. 132.

also succeeded to that post, and so did the author himself when the first Ratnākara, *i.e.*, the Kṛitya Ratnākara, was composed. Evidently the post had been hereditary. Chaṇḍeśvara succeeded to this post probably about 1310, as in 1236 Śāka or 1314 of the Christian era he, having completed a successful expedition into Nepal, made the gift of a *Tulādāna*, *i.e.*, his weight in precious metals, on the bank of the river Vāgmatī. This datum is given by Chaṇḍeśvara in his second Ratnākara (the Dāna R.)¹ and also in two later works.² It does not occur in the long introduction to the Kṛitya Ratnākara. Evidently the remaining six Ratnākaras were composed after that date, and indeed it is expressly stated that the Dharma digest was compiled in seven sections by that “giver of the man’s weight gift.” Chaṇḍeśvara’s father, a cultured man and an author of repute was alive at the time of the composition of the Kṛitya Ratnākara (*sphurati*), but his grandfather Devāditya was dead (*āsīt*). At the time of the composition of the third section (Vyavahāra Ratnākara) of his Dharma Nibandha or Digest, Chaṇḍeśvara united in himself the office of the Chief Justice, Prāḍvivāka, of Mithilā and “the important charge of Peace and War.”³ The last but one section, Vivāda R., describes him as a clever judge and as a great minister विचारचतुरी सन्नीन्द्रचण्डेश्वरः implying that the work was completed in the reign of Hari-Siṃha. In the Grihastha Ratnākara there is no definite datum to denote that the book was written in the lifetime of Hari-Siṃha Deva.

A synchronism is given by the famous Vidyāpati who, according to the Mithilā genealogies, was a descendant in the third generation from Chaṇḍeśvara’s uncle Dhīreśvara. Vidyāpati flourished within seventy years or so from Hari-Siṃha Deva’s

¹ Mitra, VI. 134.

² Vivāda R., pp. 1 & 670, and Kṛitya Chintāmaṇi, R. S. Cat. No. 1807, I. O. Cat. No. 1621. The latter book is expressly stated to have been composed after the seven Ratnākaras, and, as I shall presently show, probably after the death of King Hari-Siṃha Deva.

³ निर्णाय व्यवहार सागमदृशः यः प्राड्विवाकः स्फुरन्..... विचारचार-भिषणो धर्मं नयत्युन्नतिम् । तेनायं गुरु-सन्धिविग्रह(धु)रां धीरय सन्नीतिना । यौचण्डेश्वर सन्निष्ठा विरचितः प्राज्ञेषु रत्नाकरः । Mitra, VI. 66.

time and would have heard from contemporaries many facts of recent history which he has given here and there in his *Puruṣa Parīkṣhā*. He makes King Hari-Siṃha Deva of Mithilā a contemporary of the Yādava King Rāma Deva¹ of Devagiri. The two kings were on terms of correspondence. Rāma Deva, like Hari-Siṃha, was one of the few remaining Hindu sovereigns and was the patron of a Hindu Digest writer—Hemādri, his talented minister. In 1309, he was still alive when Malik Kāfūr invaded his kingdom of Devagiri. He died the next year.² His contemporary Hari-Siṃha Deva would thus have come to the throne of Mithilā before 1310.³

The members of the family of Chaṇḍeśvara held high posts. We have already noticed the official position of his father and grandfather. One of his uncles Gaṇeśvara was the Mantrin and Mahāmahattaka of Hari-Siṃha Deva and a verse in the introduction to his *Sugati-Sopāna* (R. S. Cat. No. 1888)⁴ shows that he presided over the council of the feudatory rulers of Mithilā⁵ and was the chief of feudatories with the high sounding title of Mahārājādhirāja which is repeated in the colophon to the Nepal copy of the year 1343, and in the books of Gaṇeśvara's son Rāmadatta.⁶ It seems to me that these Minis-

¹ Mis-spelt in printed books as *Vāmadeva*, owing to the same letter standing both for R and V in the popular script of Mithilā which is prone to omit the distinguishing dot—see above p. vi, n. 2.

² Briggs, *Ferishta*; 371, 373.

³ Hari-Siṃha's Chief Minister Gaṇeśvara, uncle of Chaṇḍeśvara, wrote a book 'Sugati-sopāna' which was copied in Nepal in 1343. The writer and his master must thus flourish before 1343—see above p. vi, n. 7.

⁴ See n. 2 below, p. ix.

⁵ A Council of Elders is known in the constitution of Mithilā under this dynasty. See O'Malley, *Gazetteer of Darbhanga*, p. 16: "On the death of Rām Singh Deva, his son, Sakti Singh, ascended the throne, but his despotism appears to have offended the nobles, and one of his Ministers established a council of seven elders as a check upon the autocratic power of the king."

⁶ H. P. Shastri, *Nepal Cat. I. 136* Rāmadatta's *बाल्योद्यमन्त्रोद्धार* in its introduction gives the first verse: "सद्वाराजाधिराजस्य महासामन्तपालिन सभामाहलकेणस्य श्रीगणेश्वर स्तुतना". The title 'The chief (or Protector) of the

ter-Thakkuras were feudal barons. That position enabled them to make princely gifts and construct monuments and palaces for which Devāditya, Vireśvara and Chaṇḍeśvara are noted in literature¹. That position would also justify the high titles given to these *Thakkuras* in their books. *Thakkura* ('baron') itself is significant. Devāditya, Gaṇeśvara and Chaṇḍeśvara are recorded to have fought successfully against 'Hambīra,' 'the Suratrāṇa of Gauḍa,' and 'the *Mlechchhas*,' i.e., against the Muhammadan Sultans of Gauḍa (Bengal). They gave lands to Śrotriya Brahmins at (Sima) Rāmapura; a palace built by Vireśvara was named "the Ladder to Heaven" 'owing to its height.'² The

great *sāmantas* (feudal rulers)' [पण्डित-महामहत्तक-महाराजान्ताधिपति-योगेश्वर-विरचितं] occurs also in the colophon to the *Gaṅgā-pattalaka* by Gaṇeśvara. R. S. Cat. 1923-24.

¹ For the liberality of Devāditya, Vireśvara and Chaṇḍeśvara, see Kṛitya, R., Kṛitya Chintāmaṇi and Puruṣa Parīkṣhā (I. VIII., p. 49); for the political position, see the Sugati-Sopāna, and the Puruṣa-Parīkṣhā (p. 67) where Gaṇeśvara is described as an adept in politics (*daṇḍanīti-kuśalāh*) whose fame had reached Devagiri.

² For buildings, see Kṛitya R. For Devāditya's bravery against *Hambīra* (दृष्ट्यन्तेनापतीनामपथगतिमतां बुद्धिसिन्धोरगस्त्यो हम्बीर-ध्वान्त-भानुः), see Chandā Jhā's quotation from the introduction of the Kṛityachintāmaṇi, PP., p. 53. Gaṇeśvara's Sugati-Sopāna in its introduction has :—

अभूदेवादित्यः सचिवतिलको मैथिलपते-
 निजप्रज्ञाज्योतिर्दलितरिपुचक्रान्धतमसः ।
 समन्तादयान्तालसितसुहृदकोपलमणौ
 समुद्रूवे यस्मिन् द्विजकुलसरोजैर्विकसितम् ॥ १ ॥
 अस्मान्महादानतडाग-याग-भूदानदेवालयपूत विश्वः ।
 वीरेश्वराज्जायत मन्त्रिराजः क्षापालचूडामण्डितमिताङ्गिः ॥ २ ॥
 लसन्महोपाल किरीटरत्नरोचिच्छटारञ्जितपादपद्मः ।
 अस्यानुजन्मा गुणगौरवेण गणेश्वरो मन्त्रिमणिस्रकाक्षिः ॥ ३ ॥
 संशोषयन्ननिश्चयेष (जीर्व ?) निभप्रतापै
 गौंडावनीपरिष्टं सुरतानसिन्धुम् ।
 धर्मावलम्बनकरः कण्ठार्द्रचेता
 यत्कीरभुक्तिमतुल्लामतुलं प्रशस्ति ॥ ४ ॥
 योमानेष महामहत्तक महाराजाधिराजो महा-
 सामन्ताधिपतिर्विकस्तरयशःपुव्यस्य जन्मद्रुमः ।

brother of Devāditya called Bhavāditya was a courtier or an aide-de-camp (Rājaballabha) very likely to Hari-Siṃha's predecessor; brothers and half-brothers of Viśeśvara held high offices under Hari-Siṃha. Jaṭeśvara was the keeper of the Treasury, Haradatta was in charge of the transfer department, Lakshmi-datta was the keeper of the seal and Śubhadatta a *rājaballabha*. The origin of the family was Gaṛh Bisphī (in the Darbhanga district),¹ and the home of Chaṇḍeśvara probably was in the Sub-division of Madhubani wherein at the village of Haraḍ the *Śiva-līṅga* established by him after his name is still in existence. The descendants of his uncle, according to the Genealogies, are living at Saurāṭha in that Sub-division.

The family of Chaṇḍeśvara is noted in Mithilā for culture in

चक्रं मेथिलभूमिनाथपतिभिः सम्राज्जराज्यस्थितिः[स्]

प्रौढानेकवर्षदेकहृदयोदोःस्तम्भसम्भावितः ॥ ५ ॥

सञ्चितवित्तनिकराहरण प्रवीणः

शिष्या इवेत्त विलसन्ति गुणा यदीयाः ।

खीञ्चस्त्यग्नितिलकं भवशर्मसंज्ञं

प्रज्ञाविनिर्जित सुरारिपदं नियुज्य ॥ ६ ॥

वेदस्मृतिपुराणादि दृष्टालोकहितैषिणा ।

कृतं सुगतिसोपानं त्रीमणेश्वरमन्त्रिणा ॥ ७ ॥

The Dāna R. verse describing that the country sinking in the ocean of the Mlechchhas was easily rescued by Chaṇḍeśvara (सम्राज्जेच्छमहार्णवे वसुसंतौ येनोद्धृता लीलया—Mitra, VI. 134), has to be dated about 1314, the date given for the first time in that Section. The verse is not repeated, Chaṇḍeśvara made large gifts after the victory over 'the country's enemies' (विध्वस्ताविनैरिणा) and composed the Dāna R. The reference is to the defeat of the Bengal Sultan, probably the same for which credit is given to Gaṇeśvara. It cannot refer to a victory against the Delhi Sultans who were never dislodged after Ghiyasuddin. His son Muhammad issued coins from Tirhut (J. A. S. B., 1915, 412).

¹ मद्र विस्पी संबीजी विष्णुशर्मा, विष्णुशर्मसुतो हरादित्यः, हरादित्यसुतः कर्मादित्यः, कर्मादित्यसुतो सान्धिविग्रहिक-देवादित्य-राजवल्लभवादित्यौ देवादित्य-सुताः पाण्डागारिक वीरेश्वर-वार्तिकनैबन्धिक-वीरेश्वर-महासहस्रकणेश्वर-भाण्डागारिक जटेश्वर-खानगारिक हरदत्त मुद्राहस्तक लल्लोदत्त राजवल्लभ शुभदत्ताः भिन्नभाटकाः । —*Pañjī* of Hari-Nandan Jhā, Pañjikār of village Andhrāthāphī, Darbhanga : see also Chandā Jhā, p. 264.

sacred literature. His father Vireśvara composed a *Paddhati* or manual of rituals for the Chhāndogya school.¹ Vireśvara's third younger brother Gaṇeśvara has left his (*Vājasaneyi*) *Ānhikoddhāra* (R. S. Cat. 1923), *Chhāndogya-strī-kartrika-Śrāddha-paddhati* (ibid.), *Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅginī* (ibid.) and *Gaṅgā-pāṭṭalaka* along with his *Sugati-sopāna*. The last book deals with gifts; in compiling it he had a literary assistant Bhava Śarmā Khauāla. In the colophon to the first book given above he is called a *mahā-mahopādhyāya*. The second brother Dhīreśvara has the title of *Mahāvārttika-naibandhika* in the *Pañji*, but no work of his has been yet found. Gaṇeśvara's son Thakkura Rāmadatta rose to be a Minister while his father was holding the post of the *Mahāmahattaka*, a title borne by Chandeśvara also according to the *Pañji*,² and which was probably equivalent to that of Prime Minister. Rāmadatta wrote the *Vājasaneyi Vivāhādi-paddhati* (*Daśa-karma*) which is the ruling canon in Mithilā up to this date.³ Another work of Rāmadatta *Shodāśa-Mahādāna-paddhati* on great gifts has also come down.⁴ This book was produced with the help of the same Bhava Śarmā who helped his father in the compilation of the *Sugati-sopāna*. Rāmadatta became the *Mahāmahattaka* under Nṛisimha of the Kārṇāṭaka family, king of Mithilā. This king is not recognised by the Mithilā chronicle which closes the Kārṇāṭa dynasty, quite correctly, with the flight of Hari-Simha Deva into Nepal. Evidently, Nṛisimha, who should be called Nṛisimha II to distinguish him from Nṛisimha I, the third successor of Nānyadeva, was a descendant and local successor of Hari-Simha under the Delhi Emperor,⁵ for Vidyāpati, spelling the name as *Narasimha*, mentions him as fighting a battle for Muham-

¹ R. S. Cat., No. 1492. देवादिप्रकृतौ जातः स्वातन्त्र्यलोच्यसमर्द्धः । प्रवर्ति विद्वत्तौ श्रीमान् श्रीमान् श्रीमान् स्वयम् ॥ He is described in the colophon as *Mahāvārttika* and *Naibandhika*, a commentator and a digest-writer.

² Chandā Jhā, 264. He is popularly called to-day Chandeśvara Mahathā.

³ R. S. Cat. 1923, Sanskrit Coll. Cat. II, 306.

⁴ I. O. Cat. No. 1714.

⁵ Cf. J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 412-413, where Mr. M. Chakravarti confounds him with Nṛisimha I.

mad (Tughlak) king of Hastināpura.¹ Rāmadatta was the Mahā-mahattaka of Nṛsiṃha II., and bears the same feudal titles as his father is given in the introductory verses of the *Sugati-sopāna* quoted above. Chaṇḍeśvara himself is described in his *Grihastha Ratnākara* to have studied the Vedic lore with its *Aṅgas* in his student days, his special claim to a knowledge of *Mīmāṃsā* is found in most of his works. In addition to the works mentioned above his *Dānavākyaṇī* and *Śiva-vākyaṇī* are also known.²

The family was given to orthodox learning, and the greatest in scholarship was Chaṇḍeśvara. His style is pointed and not pedantic; he does not ramble about like other digest-writers, and in his remarks both on law and Rājanīti he has his eye on the changing times. But it seems that much of his work is based on the labour of earlier authors whom he expressly designates in the beginning or the end of his works as his sources. This borrowing exceeds the proper bounds in one case which I have verified. From Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa's *Kalpataru* on *Vyavahāra*, Chaṇḍeśvara borrows into his *Vivāda Ratnākara* practically the whole book.

From the introduction to the *Kṛitya-chintāmaṇi* it appears that Hari-Siṃha Deva was dead, when our author prepared that work.

यद्भूरियज्ञैः सन्तुष्टः स्वर्गलोके हरिरपि सद्दिता येन जीवेद्यरायाः

Hari in the *Svargaloka* was pleased with the *Yajñas* of Chaṇḍeśvara, and (the authors) Jiveśvara and others were honoured. No mention of any living king is made and glories described there seem to be past history. The enumeration of the *Kirātas*, *Chīnas*, etc.,³ amongst his conquests points to the

¹ P. P., I. 4, p. 27; J. A. S. B., 1915, 412. ² J. A. S. B., 1915, 384.

³ The *Śloka*s noticed in I. O. Cat. No. 1621 are corrupt. Similarly, those in the notice of the Research Society (Darbhanga Rāj Library) are not very correct either. The two combined give us a better result than the I. O. datum. The historical passages have the following reading in the Research Society Catalogue :

(a) नेपालाखिलभूमिपालजयिना . . . दुग्धध्विना

(b) रंगाः (वंगाः) सञ्जातभङ्गाः चकितकरिघटाः कामरूपा विरूपाः

चौनाः कुञ्जादिलौनाः प्रमुदितविलसत्किराः (किं) किराताः ।

second expedition into Nepal, *i.e.*, after the flight of 1324. Hari-Siṃha after a reign of eight years was succeeded in Nepal by his son.¹

Our Rājanīti Ratnākara does not form part of the
The Book Dharmanibandha Ratnākara, for the
latter was closed with its seventh section.

In commenting on *Sabhā* the writer of our book (p. 9) says that the matter has been already dealt with in the Dharma-Digest, meaning his own Digest. The Rājanīti R. thus came last. When the Nibandha was undertaken the author had no idea to give a section on Rājadharmā although his predecessors had set a precedent. The author Gopāla who as Chāṇḍeśvara tells us in his Vyavahāra R.² composed a Digest called Kāmadhenu, had also a Rājanīti-Kāmadhenu which has been quoted by Chāṇḍeśvara in our present work. So had the author of the Kalpataru, Lakshmidhara Bhaṭṭa, the minister of War and Peace of King Govindachandra—a Rājadharmā section of his Kalpataru³ which has been largely cited by Chāṇḍeśvara in the Rāja-nīti R.

Chāṇḍeśvara says that he was ordered by King Bhavēśa to compose this work. (p. 1.) Now the question arises: who was

नेपाला भूमिपाला भुजबलदलितालो च नाटाश्च नाटाः

कार्णाटाः के न दृष्टाः प्रसरसि समरे मन्त्रिरत्नाकरस्य ॥

The Vaṅgas were the Gaudas under the Sultans of Bengal. The Naṭas are placed by Manu along with the N[L]ichchhavis (X. 22). The Chīnas would be some neighbours of Nepal, so were the Kirātas. The Chīnas here are identical with the *Shins* of Gilgit (Grierson, *L.S.I.*, IX. 4, p. 5n).

¹ The Nepal chronicles give 28 years' reign to Hari-Siṃha against 20 years in the Mithilā chronicles (I. A., 1884, 414). At the same time a Buddhist chronicle of Nepal says that in 448 Nepal sam=1328, Āditya-Sena (Khāsiyā) entered Nepal. But we know that Hari-Siṃha's descendants Mati-Siṃha, Śakti-Siṃha and Śyāma-Siṃha did rule in some part of Nepal (Lévi, *Nepal*, II, 226-30), and were recognized as the Kings of Nepal by the Emperors of China.

² गोपालस्य च कामधेनु रसणं, Mitra, VI. 66.

³ I. O. Cat. 1386, III, p. 410.

Vāchaspati Miśra who composed Vivādachintāmaṇi after Chāṇḍeśvara's *Viv. Ratnākara*, also composed a work on Rājadharmā, R. S. Cat. 1923.

this King Bhavēśa? He could not be a predecessor of Hari Siṃha for Hari Siṃha himself had seen two previous generations of the author. After Hari Siṃha, a new dynasty was set up by the Delhi Emperor—the dynasty of Kāmeśvara (Sugauna). Kāmeśa or Kāmeśvara was the Rājaguru or Spiritual Master of the ex-sovereigns of Mithilā. The first king of this dynasty was the younger brother of Kāmeśa; he is called Bhavēśa or Bhava-Siṃha in MSS. After 1370 he seems to have become king.¹ Chandeśvara would have been about 85 in the reign of Bhavēśa. Evidently he enjoyed a long life like his grandfather Devāditya. This record for old age and mental vigour at that age is repeated in his family by Vidyāpati who lived under several successive sovereigns of the dynasty of Bhavēśa.

The earlier constitutional tradition of Mithilā was that the king was under a Council of Elders. This Council was either for its value the first time introduced or came in power in the reign of Śaktisiṃha,² Harisiṃha's predecessor or a generation earlier.³ The existence of such a Council—a feudal baronial council—is indeed indicated, as pointed out above, by the introduction to the *Sugati-sopāna*. But when Chandeśvara wrote the Rājanīti Ratnākara things were changed. Nowhere he mentions such a Council. He contemplates a Hindu king under and dependant on an emperor as he found his own master Bhavēśa (सदाजे करदो

¹ J. B. A. S., XI, 1915, pp. 416-17. The form *Bhavēśa* occurs in Vāchaspati's *Mahādāna-nirṇaya*, J. A. S. B., 1903, p. 31, and in Misaru Miśra. Lévi, Nepal, II. 222, confuses his son Harasiṃha Deva with Hara(i)-siṃha Deva of the Kūrṇāta dynasty; a similar confusion is also made by Aufrecht, C. C., Vol. I., p. 177.

² See p. viii, n. 5.

³ The inscriptions of Nepal mention one more King (Bhupāla-siṃha) between Śaktisiṃha and Harisiṃha, while the Mithilā tradition ignores him, but for what we may infer from this *Pañji* verse :—

शास्त्रा नान्यपतिर्वभूव तदनु श्रीगङ्गादेवो नृप-
स्तत्पुनर्नरसिंहदेव नृपतिः श्रीरामसिंहस्ततः ।
तत्पुनः खलु शक्र[=शक्ति] सिंहविजयी भूपालवन्द्यस्ततः
यत्र श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिः काशीं चूडामणिः ॥

Cf. Chandā Jhā, p. 68.

यः सकरः... लोके तु राजेति सकरः', p. 4). According to him: sovereign may be of any caste. Caste in politics had become bankrupt in fact. Chanḍeśvara was quick to change and he differed from the theory of the Dharma-sāstra writers (p. 2). Sacrament of coronation was not essential for kingship. This was quite in conformity with hard facts and new facts. The Delhi emperors had been on the throne, even over Hindu kings, without any Vedic consecration. They had got established and there was no hope of a Hindu restoration. Theories must change with facts, and Chanḍeśvara, an old statesman, realised that the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas had ceased to rule. He laid down the definition—one who protects is the king, and rejected the authority of Gopāla (in the Rajaniti-Kāmadhenu) and others emphasising consecration. He, citing Brihaspati, coolly pointed out to a conqueror and said that the consecration theory fails (p. 3). His views on general subjects are, of course, traditional, and they are very valuable as such. For instance, on succession to a kingdom he writes that the ordinary rule of division and succession cannot apply to a kingdom, for the royal property is owned by the whole people—they all have a share in it (the poor, orphans, etc.), that leadership, if divided, would destroy the state. (p. 81.) In connection with coronation (ch. 16) Chanḍeśvara quotes a text (p. 83) where Prajā or the subjects are described as Vishṇu. This divine position of the subject as against the king is in consonance with the early theory of Hindu politics. In the Śānti-parvan (ch. 59, Ver. 106), the coronation oath lays down that the country is God and that the king in protecting it will consider it as such :—

‘प्रतिज्ञां चाभिरोक्षस्व मनसा कर्षणा गिरा ।

पालयिष्याम्यहं भूमिं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासक्तः’ ॥

[Mount on the *Pratiṣṭhā* (take the oath) mentally, physically and verbally (without any mental reservation)]—‘I will see to the growth of the country considering it always as God (Brahma).’

Chanḍeśvara’s text ‘अद्यावत् न मे राज्यं राजायं रक्षतु प्रजाः । इति सर्वं प्रजा विष्णुं साक्षिणं आवेक्ष्यतुः’ becomes intelligible when read with the coronation oath of the Mahābhārata.

The Rājanīti-Ratnākara has got sixteen chapters : (1) King-ship, (2) Ministers, (3) Minister of religion, (4) Lord Chief Justice, (5) Councillors, (6) Forts, (7) Discussion of policy, (8) Treasury, (9) Army, (10) Leadership of the army, (11) Ambassadors, (12) Administration, (13) Executive authority and punishment, (14) Abdication and appointment, (15) Appointment of a new king by the Minister of Religion and other Ministers, and (16) Coronation.¹

The chief value of the Rājanīti-Ratnākara lies in the fact that it introduces us to a new branch of literature and it is the oldest work of that branch yet published. Politics, as a separate study, is traced back in India to the seventh century B. C. It is known to the Jātakas, the Rāmāyana and the Grihya Sūtra.² It was then called by two names, Artha-Śāstra and Daṇḍa-nīti. Artha-Śāstra or the Code of Artha is explained by Kauṭilya as the Śāstra dealing with the means of acquiring and developing Artha, which is "territory with human population." Daṇḍa-nīti means 'the Principle of Government.' The Artha-Śāstra is a branch of the literature called Itihāsa, according to Kauṭilya; Itihāsa included Purāṇa or ancient history (with probably cosmology), Itivṛitti or recent history (?), Ākhyāyikā or traditional stories of individuals (probably in dialogues), Udāharaṇa or examples (?), Dharma-Śāstra or Law; Artha-Śāstra or Politics.³ Itihāsa was considered as one of the Vedas in the time of Kauṭilya⁴ and earlier (Chhāndogya Upanishad). Lakshmidhara, the foreign minister of King Govinda-deva of Benares, calls Artha-Śāstra the sixth Veda. In other words, political science, included as it was in Itihāsa, was part of recognised orthodox litera-

¹ Cf. the chapters of the Rājadharmas section of the Kalpataru—*I. O.* 1386, III, p. 410.

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³ पुराणमिति तत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः, *I.* 6.

⁴ सामर्थ्यं ज्ञेयं दास्तथै । अथर्ववेदेतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः । *I.* 3.

ture claiming antiquity and respect. About thirty ancient authors are cited in the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya, the Mahābhārata, the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra and the Kāmandakiya-nīti-sāra. Some more authorities are found in a commentary on Somadeva's Nītivākyāmrīta published last year.¹ The subject was a popular one and had a succession of masters. In the period corresponding to early Christian centuries, up to the fifth or sixth, it seems that some important books, *e.g.*, Kāmandakiya and Nārādīya, were composed. After that there appears to be a cessation in the composition of new books for about five centuries. On the analogy of what happened in the literature of Hindu Law, to which Hindu politics is closely allied, this was probably a period of commentaries.

About the eleventh century a new class of literature on political science came into existence, *viz.*,
 Digest of Hindu Politics Digests of Hindu Politics,
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was Rājanīti-kāmadhenu of which we only know from references in our Ratnākara. The author of Kāmadhenu had also composed a law-Kāma-dhenu which is quoted in law-digests. Like Chanḍeśvara his successors the later Digest-makers, Vāchaspati, Mitra Miśra and Nilakaṇṭha, also composed sections on Rājanīti. Vāchaspati's work has been found by us in fragments; the last two are already published.

The Rāja-nīti Ratnākara, in addition to the information as to the existence of earlier digests of Hindu Politics, discloses to us the fact that there was a work attributed to Nārada dealing with politics. This becomes evident by looking at the

Nāradiya and some
other lost works

passages quoted under the name of
Nārada or the Nāradiya. Some of
them are traceable to the law-book of

Nārada while others are not to be found there and they cannot be referred to a law-book. (See, for instance, the passages at pp. 3, 13 and 79.) It is not very clear but it seems probable that some Artha-Śāstra work was attributed to the name of Hārīta (see p. 13). Chanḍeśvara quotes largely from a work called 'Rāja-nīti' (for instance, at p. 75). The book cannot be identified without discovering the earlier digests. The Śukra-nīti referred to in the Ratnākara differs completely from the Śukra-nīti that we have got to-day.

It is noteworthy that the Kāmandakīya is called an Artha-Śāstra by our author (p. 62).

The Ratnākara is thus valuable on the history of political literature and deserves attention on that ground as well. Still more important are the norms which obtained at the close of the Hindu and the beginning of the Muhammadan periods. Originality and force are on the decline, but yet there is no lack of interest and no total surrender of reason.

उपोद्घातः ।

ग्रन्थोऽयं राजनीतिरत्नाकराभिधानो विहारोत्कलपुरातत्त्व-
गवेषणसमितेः (Bihar and Orissa Research Society)
पुरातनसंस्कृतग्रन्थावलिंगवेषणोद्योगस्य फलंशः । आसीत्समितेः तस्या
संस्थापतिः—प्रादेशिकशासकः सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदयः । राजकौयोऽयं
ग्रन्थगवेषण-क्रमः समितौ निश्चितस्तेन । मिथिलाधामुत्कले चेति केन्द्रद्वये
गवेषणं समारब्धम् । विक्रमीये १९७१ (ख्रीष्टीये १९१८) तमेऽब्दे मिथि-
लायां प्रथममेतत्कार्यं प्रारब्धम् तदानीन्तनैः समितेरवैतनिकप्रधानमन्त्रिभि-
रस्माभिः तन्निरीक्षितम् । प्रारम्भे च कतिप्रयेषु सासेषु ग्रन्थनामावली-
विन्यस्तग्रन्थनामानि निरीक्ष्यमाणा वयं ग्रन्थस्यास्य नाम दृष्टवन्तोऽस्य
प्रतिलिपिं च कर्तुमाज्ञां दत्तवन्तः ।

आधुनिकेतिहासग्रन्थेषु संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य स कालो मध्यकाल इत्याह्व-
यते । यदा माहम्मदौयानामत्रागमनं जातम्, तदाभिनवग्रन्थनिर्माणं लुप्त-
प्रायमभूत् । मध्यकालीनो राजनीतिविषयको विशेषतस्तुविख्यातधर्मे-
शास्त्रविचक्षणश्रीमच्चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽयं ग्रन्थोऽस्मदीयं कौतूहलं निरतिशय-
मानन्दञ्च युगपदेव व्यतानीत् ।

ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रकाशनं समित्यर्थं वयं करिष्याम इति सुनिश्चिततरा
सर्वेषां धारणा । (समितेः वार्षिककार्यविवरणे जरनले ५, पृ. १३) ।
किन्तु यदा समस्तोऽयं ग्रन्थो मुद्रितस्तदा समितेः नूतनकार्यकारिण्युपसमित्या
ग्रन्थप्रकाशनाय त्रयवैकल्यं सूचितम् । प्रस्ताव आदावयमेवाभूदयन्माला-
रूपेणैतत्प्रदेशस्याद्यावध्यप्रकाशिता लुप्तप्राया ये ग्रन्था उपलभ्येरन् ते
क्रमशः संस्करणीयाः प्रकाशननीयाश्च । यदि सर एडवर्डगेटमहोदया

अस्माकं मध्ये कियत्कालमधिकमभविष्यन् अथवा तादृशा महानुभावा अन्ये ऽपि प्रास्तोत्साहं प्रदर्शयेयुस्तर्हि अस्माकमभिलाषा विफला न स्यात् ।

ग्रन्थोऽयं सर **एडवर्डगेटम**होदयेभ्यस्साहित्यसेवनव्रतनिरतेभ्य-
स्समर्प्यते येषां च स्मारकरूपेण प्रकाशितस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य मुद्रणार्थं पटना-
पुरनिवासिना गुणग्राहिणा रायबहादुरेण श्री**राधाकृष्णजालानेन**
विश्रिष्टमर्थसाहाय्यं कृतम् ।

(क), (ख), (ग) चेति कृतसंज्ञिकाभ्यो हस्तलिपिभ्योऽयं ग्रन्थः
सम्पादितः । 'क' इति कृतनाम्नी लिपिः परलोकवासिनां मुजफ्फरपुर-
राजकीयसंस्कृतविद्यालयप्रथमाध्यापकानां श्री**बच्चार्जुन**णां पण्डितप्रवरा-
णाम्, 'ख' इत्यभिधाना दरभङ्गान्तर्गतलालगञ्जग्रामावस्थितस्य श्री**शिवे-**
श्वरशर्माणो, 'ग' इति संज्ञिका च दरभङ्गामण्डलवर्त्तिमधुवन्याः बाबु
क्षेमधारीसिंहशर्माणः । सर्वा इमाः 'कामगज'पत्रेषु लिपीकृताः समकालीन-
प्राया एव सार्द्धैकशतवर्षपूर्वलिखिताः । एकतमस्यामपि लेखनकालो
नोपन्यस्तः । मैथिलौलिप्या एव सर्वा निबद्धाः । पुस्तकत्रये यानि
पाठान्तराणि प्राप्तानि तान्येव प्रायशोऽस्माभिरविकलानि स्थापितानि,
येषु केषु च स्थलेषु लेखकप्रमादजातिसाधारणाशुद्धयो दृष्टास्ता एव
संशोधिताः । नातिमुस्या अपि पाठभेदाः सर्वेऽपि विन्यस्ताः ।

चण्डेश्वरसमये विद्यमानानां मनुमहाभारतादीनां प्राचीनग्रन्थानां
मिथिलायां क्रमागतं पाठवैशिष्ट्यमिति राजनीतिरत्नाकराध्ययनेन
स्पष्टीभवति । अस्मत्कृतयो राजनीतिरत्नाकरटिप्पणीभ्य एतत् सम्यग्ज्ञायते ।
अत्र विशेषतः **कामन्दकीयानीतिरत्ने**खनीया । एतत् तारतम्यं
निश्चेतुमेवास्माभिर्मिथिलातः **कामन्दकीया** एका पुरातनी प्रतिलिपिः
पण्डित**विष्णुलालशर्म**योगेन प्राप्ता । अस्याः समयः १४७६ तमः शाकाब्दो
ग्रन्थे निरूपितः । लिखिता इयं कामरूपस्य **रामखण**पुत्राय नीतिविदे
गाम्भूरखणाय ।

तथाहि तत्र

‘आसीत् श्रीरामखाणः समरभरहताशेषवैरिप्रवीरो
वोरः श्रीकामरूपप्रभुरखिलमहौमगुलख्यातकौर्त्तिः ।
तस्माज्जातः पयोधेर्विधुरिव जगदानन्दनः सुन्दरश्रीः
श्रीमद्रामूखाणः पटुरतिसुकविस्तत्त्वविज्ञोतिशास्त्रे ॥ १ ॥
तस्य बुधस्यादेशादृतुमुनिवेदेन्दु १४७६ सुन्दरे प्राक् ।
कविरत्नेन सयत्नं ललिता कामन्दकौ लिखिता ॥ २ ॥

अनन्तप्रयत्नसंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायां पण्डितपुङ्गवश्रीगणपतिशास्त्र-
प्रकाशितायाः कामन्दकौयनीतेः वाक्यानि राजनीतिरत्नाकरोद्धतानि
कामन्दकौयवाक्यानि नातुसरन्ति किञ्च गाभूरूखाण-ग्रन्थवाक्यान्त्यनुगच्छ-
न्तीति । टिप्पणीषु तानि कामन्दकौयवाक्यानि तद्ग्रन्थान्मैथिलहस्तलिखित-
पुस्तकादिति निर्दिष्टानि । इयं च हस्तलिपिः ‘मधुवन्य’न्तर्गतपाहौटोल-
ग्रामवास्तव्यस्य पण्डितस्य आद्यानाथशर्मेणः ।

चण्डेश्वरः किल कार्णाटकूलभूतस्य मिथिलामहोपतेर्हरिसिंह-
देवस्य मन्त्री बभूव । इतिहासेषु अस्य राज्ञो वंशः सिमराववंश
नाम्ना विख्यातः । एतदंश्रीया राजानः १३२४ तम-ख्रीष्टाब्द-पर्यन्तं
शासनं सिमरावस्थापकः । ततः परं तेषां स्वातन्त्र्यं गियासुद्दीन
तुगलकस्याक्रमणेन विनष्टम् । कार्णाटवंशस्य इतिवृत्तं विहारोत्कलगवेषणा-
समिति-जैमासिक जरनल इति पुस्तके (१६२३-२५ ख्री०) प्रकाशयामः ।

ग्रन्थकारस्योक्तेरेण ग्रन्थस्यास्य कारयिता ‘भवेश’ इति राज्ञो
नाम समुपलभ्यते । चण्डेश्वरस्तु राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्तस्त्वं ग्रन्थमिमं प्रणिनायेति
स्वयमेव ग्रन्थारम्भे ‘राज्ञा भवेशेनाज्ञप्त’ इति वाक्येन समुल्लिखति ।
राज्ञा भवेशो भवेश्वरो वा कार्णाटोत्तरे कामेश्वरराजवंशे १३७०
ख्रीष्टाब्दात् परं मिथिलाभूपोऽभवत् ।

राजनीतिरत्नाकर-प्रणयनसमये चण्डेश्वरः प्रधानामात्यपदमेवा-
लं चकारेत्यनुमीयते यतोऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे अयं न ‘महासान्धिविप्रश्चिक’
इति । किन्तु विवादरत्नाकररचनासमये स स्वपित्रध्ययितानुपाधीन

पदानि, अधिकारांश्च उपलब्धवान् । राजनीतिरत्नाकरे ए० ७७, विवाद-
रत्नाकरे (एशियाटिक सोसाइटी सु०) ए० ६७१ च संक्षिप्तः कवे-
जीवनवृत्तान्तो ज्ञातुं शक्यते ।

विवादरत्नाकरे राज्ञ उल्लेखो न प्राप्यते किन्तु ग्रन्थस्य समयः १२३६
तमः शाकाब्दः ६७१ तमे पृष्ठे लिखितः । अन्यैश्च प्रमाणैर्ज्ञायते यत्
हरिसिंहदेवो राजा तदा शास्तिस्त्र इति । द्वात्यरत्नाकरे तु चण्डेश्वरेण
खस्वामिनो हरिसिंहदेवस्य नामाङ्कितम् । स एव किल नेपालं तस्योपत्यका-
भूमिं च विजिग्य इति लोके प्रसिद्धम् । विवादरत्नाकरे च तन्मन्त्रौ
चण्डेश्वरः खबुद्धिप्रभावेण **नेपालं** पराजित्वाधिपकृतवानिति लिखितमस्ति ।
यतश्चण्डेश्वरो महासान्धिविग्रहिकपदव्यलङ्कृत आसीदतो **नेपाल**विजय
यशोभाजनमयमिति भवितुं शक्नोति । हरिसिंहदेवस्य तु गलकसम्भाजा
पराजयस्तस्य नेपालपलायनमिति १३२६ ख्रीष्टाब्दे घटितमिति मिस्तर
अवमालो (O'Malley) महोदयस्यानुमानम् । नैतत्समौचीनम् यतो
विवादरत्नाकरोत्लिखित-नेपालविजयः १३१४ ख्रीष्टाब्दात्प्रागेव ।

हरिसिंहदेवेन मिथिलास्थयो ब्राह्मणकायस्थयोः **पञ्जीप्रबन्धो**
निरमायि । प्रबन्धोऽयं मैथिलशास्त्रकाराणां पण्डितानां वंशकालयोर्ज्ञाना-
यात्युपादेयः । **चाण्डेश्वरस्य** वंशावली अस्माभिरस्यैव साहाय्येन निर्धारिता ।
तत्पितृकुलान्वया दरभङ्गान्तर्गत मधुवनौत्युपभुक्ति (सबडिबीजन)-वर्त्ति
सौराठग्रामे निवसन्ति । **हरडौग्रामे** चास्य समसंज्ञकमेकं **शिव-**
लिङ्गं तद्व्यापितं विद्यते । पञ्जीप्रबन्धानुसारेण सान्धिविग्रहिक-
वीरेश्वरस्य भ्रातरो **धीरेश्वरः**, **शुभदत्तो** महामहत्तकगणेश्वरो-
मुद्राहत्तकलक्ष्मीदत्तोऽन्ये चापि आसन् ।

अन्तिमपदबोधयेन ज्ञायते यद् वीरेश्वरस्य वंशे बहवो राजकीयोच्च-
पदैर्विभूषिता बभूवुः । अधुना केवलं धीरेश्वरस्य वंशीया एव विद्यन्ते ।
चण्डेश्वरस्य पित्रा **वीरेश्वरेणैकापद्धतिर्विरचिता** ।

तत्र

देवादित्यकुले जातः ख्यातस्त्रैलोक्यसंसदि

पद्भितिं विदधे धीमान् श्रीमान् वीरेश्वरः कृतौ ॥

गणेश्वरस्तत्पुत्रः रामदत्तश्च कर्मकाण्डे आचार्यौ । रामदत्तस्य वाजसनेयिदशकर्मपद्धतिरधुनापि मिथिलायां प्रचरति । गणेश्वरस्य गया-विधिर्गङ्गाप्रकाशस्त्रुगतिरसोपानञ्च लभ्यन्ते । पञ्चौपबन्धे तु वंशस्यास्य वासस्थानं **गडबिसफौति** कथितमस्ति । शिलालिपिज्ञानां यत् बिसफौग्रामेति नामधेयं स्थानं विदितं तदेव गडबिसफौति । विद्येश्वरस्य पितुर्नाम **विष्णु-शर्मा**, पितामहस्य **देवादित्य** इति । तदुक्तं 'गडबिसफौसंबोजी हरादित्यकर्मादित्य विष्णुशर्मा ... इति ।

समस्तार्चावर्त्ते अस्तंगते आर्यस्वातन्त्र्यसूर्ये स्नेच्छभृत्येन करदराजेन भर्त्ता **भवेशे**नाज्ञप्तश्चण्डेश्वरः करोति **राजनौतिरत्नाकरम्** । तत्कालः ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् प्रतिबिम्बितः प्रतिभाति । राजशब्दस्य व्याख्यां कुर्वता (पृ० २) तेन स्पष्टमभिधायि प्रजारक्षको राजेति । राज्याभिषेकविधिमपि नातिमन्यते । क्षत्रियजातीय एव राजा भवितुमर्हतीति नावश्यकमिति । महम्मदीयानां राजत्वकाले एतदेव व्यवस्थितम् । नतु मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तास्ते महम्मदीया स्नेच्छाः ।

तथापि शास्त्रविहिता नौतिरेव मुख्यतश्चण्डेश्वरेण लिखिता । राज्य-विभागविषये च कथयति सामान्यदायविभागादिनियमा राज्यविभागे नोप-युक्ता यदेतदराज्यं नैकस्य किन्तु राजधने दीनानाथादिसकलप्राणिनामं-शित्वम् (पृ, ८१) । अभिषेकप्रकरणे (अ, १६) **प्रजा विष्णुरूपा** इति वर्णितम् (पृ, ८३) । राज्ञः समक्षं प्रजानामेतावद्देवतोचितः सम्मानो यथास्मिन् विद्यते तथैव प्राचीनराज्यशास्त्रे चाप्युपलभ्यते । यथा महा-भारते श्रान्तिपर्वणि (अ, ५६ प्रलो, १०६) अभिषेकप्रकरणे वर्णितम्—

‘प्रतिज्ञां चाभिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।

पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासक्तत्’ ॥

चण्डेश्वरस्तूदाहरति—

‘अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजायं रक्षतु प्रजाः ।

इति सर्वं प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं आवचेन्मुञ्जः’ ॥

अयं राजनीतिनामधेयो विषयः संस्कृतसाहित्यस्य विस्तृतप्रायोऽधुना संस्कृताध्ययने । विक्रमीयसप्तमशताब्दीपूर्वमेवास्य प्रादुर्भावः । बौद्धानां जातकेषु, रामायणे, गृह्यसूत्रेषु चास्य शास्त्रीयत्वं पश्यते । शास्त्रस्यास्य तदानीन्तने नामधेये अर्थशास्त्रं दण्डनीतिश्चेति । विक्रमीयाब्दपूर्ववर्त्तमानं कौटिलीयमर्थशास्त्रमेवं वर्णयति— ‘मनुव्याणां वृत्तिरर्थः, मनुष्यवतीभूमौरित्यर्थः तस्याः पृथिव्या लाभप्राप्तनोपायः शास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रमिति’ । दण्डस्य प्रजाशासनस्य नीतिर्दण्डनीतिः । अर्थशास्त्रमितिहासेऽन्तर्भवतीति कौटिल्यमतम् यतः ‘पुराणमिति वृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः’ इति । कौटिल्यकाले द्वान्दोग्योपनिषत्समये चेतिहासो वेद इव गण्यते स्म । काशी-कान्यकुब्जेश्वरस्य गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवस्य सान्धिविग्रहिको लक्ष्मीधरोऽर्थशास्त्रं षष्ठं वेदं संजानीते । इतिहासेऽन्तर्भूतमिदं शास्त्रं पुरातनं, अद्वयं विहितं सम्मतञ्च । कौटिलीये, महाभारते, आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्रे, कामन्दकीयनीतिसारे च राजनीतिशास्त्राचार्याणां नामोल्लेखः प्राप्यते ।

विषयोऽयं पुरा लोकानां सम्मानभाजनमभूत् । बहवोऽस्य विषयस्याचार्या जाताः । विक्रमीयपञ्चमे षष्ठे वा शताब्दे कामन्दकीय-नारदीयादयो विरचिताः प्रसिद्धग्रन्थाः । ततः प्रभृति पञ्चशताब्दपर्यन्तमनुमीयते विषयेऽस्मिन् मूलग्रन्थानामनिर्माणम् । यथा धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थानां केवलं भाष्याणि एव निर्मितानि तथैव तस्मिन् समये केवलमर्थशास्त्रभाष्याणामेव करणमित्यनुमीयते ।

एकादशशताब्दे राजनीतिग्रन्थानामेको नवः प्रकारः (नीति-निबन्धाः) प्रादुरभवत् । एषां मूलं पूर्व-दण्डनीत्यर्थशास्त्रे न किन्तु धर्म-

शास्त्रमेवेति । नीतिनिबन्धकाराः स्वग्रन्थनिर्माणे धर्मशास्त्रमेवानुसृतवन्तः । औशनसबार्हस्पत्यकौटिलीयनीतीनां ते उपेक्षां चक्रुः । किमधिकं अर्थशास्त्रं दण्डनीतिं खेतं नामनी अपि ते प्राचक्षुः तत्त्वजुः । राजनीतिरिति नामैव ते अनुमोदितवन्तः । अस्य कर्तारो बज्रशः धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धकारा एव । अस्माकमयं राजनीतिरत्नाकरस्तच्छ्रेणीक एव । यथा धर्मशास्त्राणां निबन्धा व्यवहारप्रकाशो विवादरत्नाकर इत्यादयो मूलवचनानि प्रमाणीभूत-ग्रन्थेभ्य उद्धृत्य भाष्येण संयोज्य विषयान् दर्शयन्ति तथैव राजनीतिरत्नाकरं निबन्धग्रन्थः । एतत्प्राप्तेः प्रागस्मात्तं पूर्वरामनीतिनिबन्धग्रन्था लुप्तप्राया आसन् । लब्धेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे तेषां परिचयः प्राप्त इति अस्मिन् विषये सर्व्वतः पुरातनो **लक्ष्मीधरभट्टानां राजनीतिकल्पतरु** नामको ग्रन्थः । लक्ष्मीधरस्तु कान्यकुब्जाधिपति **जयचन्द्र** पितामहस्य **गोविन्द-चन्द्रस्य** महासाम्प्रविग्रहिकः । लक्ष्मीधरो धर्मशास्त्रेऽपि **व्यवहार-कल्पतरु** नामकमेकं ग्रन्थं विदधे । व्यवहारकल्पतरुरेका प्रतिलिपि-र्मिथिलाग्रामस्त्राभिः प्राप्ता ग्रन्थस्यास्य च सम्पादने उपकरणीभूता । राजनीतिकल्पतरुस्तु अस्माभिरद्यावधि न लब्धः । राजनीतिरत्नाकरेऽस्य वचनानि बज्रशः उद्धृतानि लभ्यन्ते । अन्यच्चैतच्छ्रेणीको ग्रन्थो **राजनीति-कामधेनु** रिति । अस्यापि वचनानि प्रचुरतया रत्नाकरे प्राप्यन्ते । कामधेनुकारो **गोपालः** कामधेनुनामकं धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धमप्यरचयत् ।

अन्येषां कियतां प्राचीननीतिग्रन्थानां परिचयं ददन्नयं राजनीति-रत्नाकरः सूचयति **नारदौयनीति**रपि काचित् पुरातनी आसीदिति । रत्नाकरोद्धृतैर्नारदौयवचनैरेतत् प्रत्यक्षीभवति । तेषु कियन्ति नारदस्य धर्मशास्त्रे उपलभ्यन्ते कियन्ति च तत्र न प्राप्याणि । तृतीयपृष्ठे नीतौ नारद इति ज्ञापयति काचिन्नीतिर्नारदस्याप्यासीदिति ।

नैतत् स्पष्टम् अनुमीयते तु **यद्भारीतस्य** एकमर्थशास्त्रमासीदिति (ए, १३) । **राजनीति** नामकग्रन्थविशेषवचनानि चण्डेश्वरो बज्रधा उद्धरति (ए, ३) । यावदस्मात्प्राचीनतरराजनीतिनिबन्धा नोपलभ्यन्ते तावद्

तद्ग्रन्थकर्त्तृर्नाम ज्ञातुं न शक्यम् । द्रष्टव्यमेतद् यदस्माकं ग्रन्थकर्त्ता
कामन्दकीयनौतिर्यशस्त्रमिष्यते (८, ६२) । रत्नाकरोद्धृत-
शुकनौतिवचनानि मुद्रितशुकनौतिवचनेभ्यः सर्वथा भिन्नानि ।

मध्यकालीनराजनौतिविकाशद्योतनन्तु अनेन सम्प्रद्यत एव विशेष-
 षतो हिन्दुराज्यान्ते माहम्मदीयराज्यादौ च कौदृशीं राजनौतिं भारतीया
 अनुसृतवन्त इत्यपि ज्ञायते च ।

यद्यपि ग्रन्थकर्त्तरि अपूर्वताया बुद्धिप्रखरतायाश्च अप्राचुर्यं विद्यते
 तथापि तस्मिन् शास्त्रजिज्ञासायास्तर्काशक्तेष्वैकान्तिकङ्कासो न दृश्यते ।

आशंसे राजनौतिकामधेनुकल्पतरूपलब्धौ रत्नाकरस्य तदव्यपहारित्वं
 प्रमाणीभविव्यतीति । चण्डेश्वरेण विवादरत्नाकरे कल्पतरोरेतावद् अपहृतम्
 यथा व्यवहारकल्पतरोः प्रकाशनं निष्फलमेवाधुना, मुद्रितरत्नाकरे
 कुत्रचिदेव पदानि तस्माद् भिन्नानि दृश्यन्ते । राजनौतिरत्नाकरे राज-
 नौतिकल्पतरौ च तादृगेवात्यल्पभेद सम्भाव्यते ।

एतद्ग्रन्थमुद्गारार्थं रायबहादुरराधाकृष्णजालानेन विशिष्ट-
 व्ययभारमुद्धृता वयमखिलार्थनौतिस्वादूपभोगिनश्चानुगृहीताः ।

पाटलिपुत्रे
 दीपावल्यां वि० १९८१ । }

जायसवालस्य काशीप्रसादस्य ।

राजनौतिरत्नाकरे येषां वचनानि प्रामाणिकतयोपन्यस्तानि तेषां

ग्रन्थानां ग्रन्थकाराणाञ्च नामानि यथा—

१	अर्थप्रदीपे व्यासः	...	...	...	81.
२	अर्थशास्त्रम्	...	...	...	62.
३	काव्यायनः	...	18, 23, 24, 78, 81, 86.		
४	कामन्दकः	...	...	...	36, 61.
५	(वाचस्पत्यम्)	...	...	...	61.
६	कोशः (अमरः)	...	...	...	13.
७	कोशः (कोशकारः)	...	...	...	80, 84.
८	कुल्लुकभट्टः	...	...	...	2.
९	गोपालः	...	...	...	81, 84.
१०	गुरुः	...	...	...	3, 36.
११	नारदः	...	13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24,		
			25, 63, 71, 77, 80, 86.		
१२	नारदीयम्	...	...	...	5.
१३	(नीतौ) नारदः	...	...	...	3.
१४	राजनौतौ नारदः	...	...	...	9.
१५	नीतिः	...	...	30, 34, 35, 47, 85.	
१६	नीतिकल्पतरुः	...	...	...	2.
१७	पद्मम्	...	...	...	79.
१८	पल्लवकारः	...	18, 35, 41, 52, 53, 72, 79, 82.		
१९	प्राञ्चः (नद्याः)	...	...	...	22, 63.
२०	बार्हस्पत्यम्	...	...	...	79.
२१	भागवतम्	...	...	...	79.

२२	मनुः ...	4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34, 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 84, 85.
२३	महाभारतम् ...	4, 10, 13, 28, 29, 30, 35, 37, 40, 43, 50, 62, 63, 76.
२४	(मय-मैत्र-विशालाक्ष-मनु-वृहस्पति-शुक्राः) ...	67.
२५	मिताक्षरा ...	78, 86.
२६	याज्ञवल्क्यः	3, 6, 8, 11, 16, 26, 29, 35, 39, 48, 50, 61, 64, 70, 71, 72, 73, 80, 86.
२७	राजनीतिः ...	30, 35, 43, 51, 82.
२८	राजनीतिकामधेनुः ...	2, 5.
२९	(कामधेनुः) ...	77.
३०	राजनीतौ हारीतनारदौ ...	75.
३१	रामायणम् ...	76, 84.
३२	लक्ष्मीधरः ...	18, 23, 49, 79, 80, 81, 82.
३३	वशिष्ठः ...	76, 77.
३४	व्यासः ...	5, 12, 19, 24, 75.
३५	विष्णुः (स्मृतिः) ...	22, 42, 80.
३६	शुक्रनीतिः ...	46, 81.
३७	(राजनीतौ शुक्रः) ...	79.
३८	श्रीकरः ...	40, 81.
३९	अतिः ...	34, 63.
४०	सागरः ...	19, 39.
४१	स्मृतिः ...	8, 18.
४२	हारीतः ...	10, 13, 19.

। शुद्धिपत्रम् ।

प्रष्ठम्	पङ्क्तिः	अशुद्धम्	शुद्धम् ।
2	10	ज्ञानासम्भवाच्चेति ...	ज्ञानासम्भवाच्चेति :
3	21	एषः पाठः ...	एष पाठः
4	9	सकलराजभ्यो ...	सकलराजेभ्यो
,,	13	धर्मे सममेव ...	धर्मं सममेव* ।
(*धर्मः सम एव इति पठनीयम् ।)			
4	11	प्रख्याता, लोके ...	प्रख्याता लोके
5	10	आद्यस्य न्याये पुनर्न्याय- स्तेन कृतो दण्डो ^० ...	आद्यस्य पुनर्न्याय ^० स्तेन कृतो दण्डो
5	21	(ख) ...	विशद्धान्याचरतीति पठनीयम् । (ख)
7	1	तर्काविद्यां ...	तर्काविद्याम्
7	11	दिवा स्वप्नः ...	दिवास्वप्नः
7	12	गुणः ...	गणः
7	16	व्यसन्यऽधोऽधो ...	व्यसन्यधोऽधो
9	12	राजपरं ...	राजपरम्,
9	12	परिरक्षणा ...	परिरक्षणम्
10	14	एतैस्त्यक्तोमहौपालः ...	एतैस्त्यक्तो महौपालः
10	22	आ. अ. प. ...	आश्र. प.
13	23	नारदस्मृतौ ...	नारदस्मृतौ मुद्रितहारीते च
15	13	म० । ८ । १६३ ...	म० । ८ । १६३ । म० । ‘मत्तोन्मत्तार्त्ताध्वधौनैर्बालिन०’
16	16	राज्ञा ...	राज्ञां

श्रुतम्	पङ्क्तिः	अश्रुतम्	श्रुतम् ।
17	5	पुष्टादि ...	पुष्ट्यादि
20	20	दमस्तथा ...	दमं तथा
20	21	दृष्टस्यतिश्च ...	दृष्टस्यतिः
21	9	एतद्दशाङ्गकरणं ...	एतद्दशाङ्गं करणं
21	12	धर्मज्ञा ...	धर्मज्ञाः
24	19	सभ्येनावश्यकर्तव्यं ...	सभ्येनावश्य[म्] कर्तव्यं
24	20	स्यात्तु सभ्यस्ततो नृपः ...	स्यात्तु सभ्यस्ततो नृपः(?)
25	5	उपेक्षमाणा ...	उपेक्षमाणाः
26	4	विधौय ते ...	विधौयते
27	8	०दत्तम् ...	०दत्त[त]म्
29	17	स्त्रीस्तेष्व० ...	स्त्रीस्तेष्व०
33	3	अप्रसादादि० ...	अप्रसादादि०
„	4	सकृत्तन्नामिति मनो- ...	‘स कृत्तन्ना’मिति मनो-
		रभिधानात् ...	रभिधानात्
„	4	चामन्त्रमन्त्रभेदे ...	च अ-मन्त्रमन्त्रभेदे
34	16	रक्षद्० ...	रक्षेद्०
38	7	अग्नौबलं ...	अग्नौबलं
41	5	अकीर्त्तिः ...	अकीर्त्तिः
41	2	चेष्टाञ्चैव ...	चेष्टाञ्चैव
42	9	परपुराव्यप्तौ ...	परपुरावाप्तौ
42	9	तत्कालीन ...	तत्कालीन
52	14	ज्यायया ^१ ...	ज्यायया ^१
52	23	जयसा ...	ज्यायसा
75	14	प्रधान्या० ...	प्राधान्या०
80	21	अतादृगर्थस्य ...	तादृगर्थस्य
83	20	खामि सहितं ...	खामिसहितं

विषयानुक्रमणिका ।

मङ्गलाचरणम्, विषयानुक्रमञ्च । १, २

प्रथमं राज्ञोन्निरूपणम् । २—१०

राजत्वम्, राजलक्षणानि, राजा त्रिविधः सम्राट् सकरोऽकरश्चेति, अघौ-
श्वरो द्विविधः राज्ञां साधारणधर्माः, तेषामष्टादशव्यसनानि, अलम्ब-
लिप्तनम्, लम्बरक्षणम्, कुमाररक्षणम्, नित्यंविधानम्, आत्म-
रक्षणम्, विदत्तभागम् । प्रजारक्षणं तु प्रधानतः ऐहिकस्वार्थ-
साधनाय ।

अमात्यनिरूपणम् (द्वितीयस्तरङ्गः) ११—१५

अमात्योपयोगित्वम् । अमात्यलक्षणानि । मञ्चिभिस्सह मन्त्राणां, वज्रभिस्सह
मन्त्रनिषेधः । अमात्यधर्माः । प्राज्ञा एव मन्त्रिणः कार्य्याः ।

पुरोहितनिरूपणम् (तृतीयस्तरङ्गः) १६, १७

पुरोहितलक्षणम् । ब्राह्मणपूजा ।

प्राङ्निवाकनिरूपणम् (चतुर्थस्तरङ्गः) १८, १९

निर्वाचनहेतुः । लक्षणानि । व्युत्पत्तिः । सभ्यैः सह कार्य्यावेक्षणम् ।

सभ्यनिरूपणम् (पञ्चमस्तरङ्गः) । २०—२२

सभ्यव्युत्पत्तिः । सभानिरूपणम्, प्रतिष्ठिता अप्रतिष्ठिता मुद्रिताशासिता
चेति चतुर्विधा सभा । सभाङ्गानि । सप्त पञ्च त्रयो वा सभ्याः ।
सभ्यलक्षणानि । धर्मार्थशास्त्रयोर्विप्रतिपत्तिः । धर्मनिर्णये वृषलस्य
निषेधः । सभ्यकर्तव्यानि ।

दुर्गनिरूपणम् (षष्ठस्तरङ्गः) २६—२८

दुर्गोपयोगिता । दुर्गभेदाः । गिरिदुर्गप्रशंसा । दुर्गोपकरणानि । अदुर्गो
विषयः कस्य ।

मन्त्रणा (सप्तमस्तरङ्गः) २९—३३

मन्त्रणादेशः । मन्त्रकालः । मन्त्रगोपनम् । पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्रः, अस्य प्रकारः ।
सिद्धिलक्षणम् ।

कोषनिरूपणम् (अष्टमस्तरङ्गः) ३४, ३५

कोषलक्षणानि । कोषसंरक्षणाप्रयोजनम् ।

बलनिरूपणम् (नवमस्तरङ्गः) ३६—४२

बलप्रयोजनम् । षडात्मकं बलम् । शक्तिस्त्रिविधा । यानम् । प्रयास्यमानस्य
राज्ञः शक्तित्रयपरिचिन्तनम् । यानोपयुक्तामासः । सग्रामकृत्यम् ।
व्यूहरचना । व्यूहभेदाः । युद्धक्रमः । घोटकाः । परपुरुषरोधः ।
विजयोत्तरकृत्यम् ।

सेनानीनिरूपणम् (दशमस्तरङ्गः) ४३—४५

सेनानीकार्थ्यम् । सेनानीलक्षणम् । सेनां प्रतिसेनानीधर्मः । कूटायुध-
निषेधः । योधनधर्माः ।

दूतादिनिरूपणम् । (एकादशस्तरङ्गः) ४६—६१

दूतलक्षणम् । प्रतीहारकार्थ्यम् । मित्रम् । मित्रपरौक्षा । चाराः ।
परिवारकृत्यम् । राजसभोपजीविनां कर्तव्यानि । अनुरक्तविरक्तस्य
स्वरूपम् ।

साधारणपालनादिराजकृत्यनिरूपणम् (द्वादशस्तरङ्गः) ६२—७०

साधारणाः राजधर्माः । प्रजापालनं परोधर्मः । प्रजारक्षक एव नृपः
प्रजाभिः बर्हते रक्ष्यते च । प्रजावर्द्धनात् प्रजारक्षणं श्रेयः । प्रजापालने

यत्र धर्मार्थशास्त्रयोर्विप्रतिपत्तिस्तत्र धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमेवाचरणीयम् ।
 बाङ्गयचिन्तनम् । सन्धिविग्रहादिकालाः । उपायान्तराभावे युद्धाश्रयः ।
 मण्डलचिन्तनम् । प्रजापालने हेतुः तत्प्रकारश्च । अधिकारिणाः ।
 दण्डग्रामाधिपादयः ।

दण्डनिरूपणम् (त्रयोदशस्तरङ्गः) ७१—७४

दण्डप्रयोजनम् । दण्डोत्पत्तिः । दण्डभेदाः । दण्डस्य दृष्टादृष्टार्थफलकत्वम् ।
 राज्ञेऽपि दण्डः ।

राजकृतराज्यदानम् (चतुर्दशस्तरङ्गः) ७५—७८

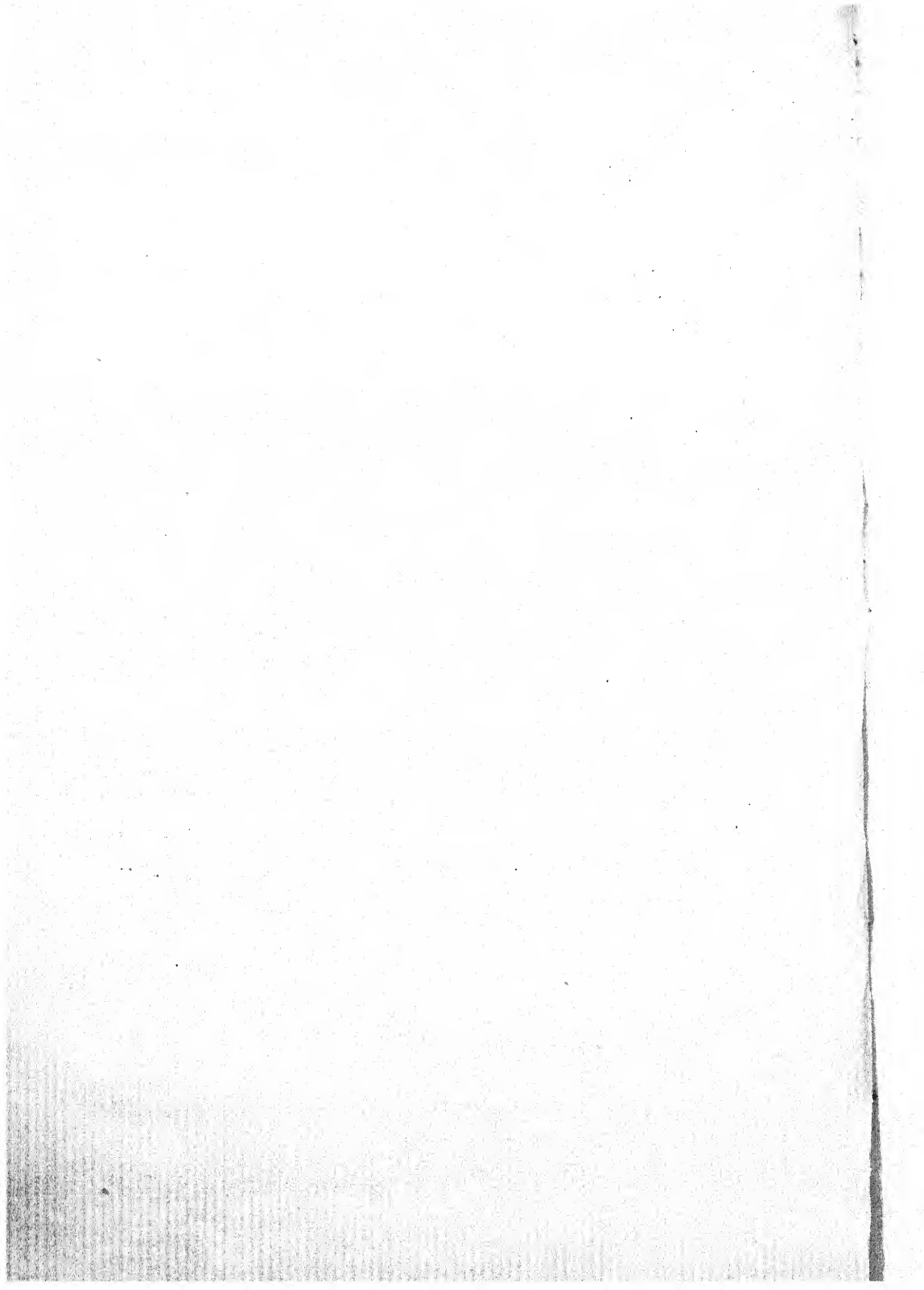
राज्ञः राज्यान्निस्पृहत्वे रणागमने च तत्कृतं पुत्राय राज्यदानम् । पौरजना-
 मन्त्रणम् । ज्येष्ठाय राज्यदापनम् । राज्यस्याविभाज्यता । राज्यदाने
 पृथिवीपतेरस्वातन्त्र्यम् ।

पुरोहितादिदत्तराज्यदाननिरूपणम् (पञ्चदशस्तरङ्गः) ७९—८१

राज्यमृते राजपुत्राय पुरोहितमन्त्रिभिः राज्यदानम्, ज्येष्ठाय । सप्ताङ्गकं
 राज्यम् । राजधने दीनानाथसकलप्राणिनामंशित्वम् ।

अभिषेकनिरूपणम् (षोडशस्तरङ्गः) ८२—८७

यौवराज्ये राज्ये वा सुतस्य अभिषेचनम्, प्रजाविप्रातुमोदितम् । युवराजस्य
 वृद्धराजसापेक्षत्वम् । अभिषेचनकर्त्तृमाणि । राज्यदाने प्रजा एव
 विष्णुः साक्षी च । अन्ये राजपुत्रा भर्त्तव्याः । अभिषिक्तस्य प्रथमं
 राष्ट्रस्यैव, साधनम् । ग्रन्थसमाप्तिः ।



CHANDESVARA'S
RĀJANĪTĪ-RATNĀKARA.

चण्डेश्वरविरचितो
राजनौति-रत्नाकरः ॥

ॐ नमो गणेशाय ॥

सूत्रामान्धकथोर्विवादमनिशन्दृष्ट्वा जिगीष्वोरहं
राजेत्येव मिथः पुरा निगदतोरग्रीक्षणप्रेक्षणात् ।
योऽसौ निर्णयतिस्म संप्रति शिवः पाथात्पराणां परः
स स्मेराचलकन्यया ऽप्यनुमतो^१ ब्रह्मादिभिः प्रार्थितः ॥
राज्ञा भवेष्टेनाज्ञप्तो राजनौतिनिबन्धकम् ।
तनोति मन्त्रिणामार्यः श्रीमान् चण्डेश्वरः कृती ॥
राज्ञो निरूपणञ्चादावामात्यस्य तदुत्तरम् ।
ततः पुरोहितादिश्च प्राङ्निवाकस्य तुर्यके ॥
सभ्यस्य पञ्चमे चैव षष्ठे दुर्गस्य सप्तमे ।
मन्त्रणा कार्यदेशादेः कोषस्य तदनन्तरम् ॥
बलस्य नवमे चैव सेनान्यो दशमे तथा ।
एकादशे दूतचारप्रतीहारादिकस्य तु ॥
द्वादशे राजकृत्यस्य दण्डस्याथ त्रयोदशे ।
अथ राज्यप्रदानस्य महीपेन चतुर्दशे ॥

पुरोधसा^१ पञ्चदशे तत्कुलीनाय धर्मतः ।
 षोडशे चाभिषेकस्य विचार्याकारि यत्नतः ॥
 एवं रत्नाकरे चास्मिन् तरङ्गाः षोडशोदिताः ।
 निरीक्ष्य नीतिशालाणि श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा ॥
 राजार्थशास्त्रं राजनीतिः ॥

तत्र प्रथमं राज्ञो निरूपणम् ॥ (C. I.)

मनुः ।

“अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सर्वतो विद्रुते भयात् ।

रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः” ॥^२

राजानमित्यस्य राजमात्रे तात्पर्यं विशेषानभिधानात् । असृज-
 दिति क्रियामात्रं काल उपलक्षणम् ।

“राजधर्मान् प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावृत्तो भवेन्नृपः ।

सम्भवश्च यथा तस्य सिद्धिश्च परमा यथा” ॥^३

इत्यादि प्राग्विशेषेणोपादानात् । तथा च प्रजारचको राजे-
 त्यर्थः । ननु प्रजाऽरचकस्य वेणादेः कथं राजत्वमिति चेन्न । दृष्टत-
 द्योग्यताया एव विवक्षितत्वात् । अतएव कुल्लूकभट्टः “राजशब्दोऽपि
 नात्र चञ्चिजजातिपरः किन्त्वभिषिक्तजनपदपालयितृपुरुषपरः” ।
 राजनीतिकामधेनौ ‘राज्याभिषिक्तो राजा प्रजापालनादे-
 स्तदीयत्वात् तत्त्वाक् ज्ञानासंभवाच्चेति’ प्रजापालने प्रवृत्त इति
 बहवः । वस्तुतस्तु प्रजापालनप्रवृत्त्यभिषेकादयोऽस्य कारणमात्रं प्रजा-

१ (ग) । पुरोधसामिति ।

२ म० । ७ । ३ ।

३ म० । ७ । १ ।

३ (क) (ग) योः । प्राग्विशेषेणेति ।

स्वामित्वे राजत्वेन प्रसिद्धो राजा ; 'केवलशौर्याद्याप्तराज्यस्य राजत्व-
व्यवहारादिति' गुरवः^१ ॥

विशेषलक्षणान्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः^२ ।

“महोत्साहः स्थूललघः कृतज्ञो वृद्धसेवकः ।

विनीतः सत्त्वसंपन्नः कुलीनः सत्यवाक् शुचिः ॥

अदीर्घसूत्रः स्मृतिमानचुद्रोऽपरुषस्तथा ।

धार्मिकोऽव्यसनश्चैव प्राज्ञः शूरो रहस्यवित्” ॥

अचिरक्रियः अदीर्घसूत्रः इत्यादिलक्षणं प्रशंसापरम् । स्मृति-
पुराणादौ सपापनृपस्य नरकविधानात् ॥ अभिषेककाले प्रथम-
परीक्षार्थमिति बहवः ॥

राजा त्रिविधः, सम्राट् सकरोऽकरश्च । तदाह नीतौ नारदः^३ ।

राजानमविशेषेण निजगाद मनुः पुरा ।

विशेषेणैव वक्ष्यामि संशयो न यथा भवेत् ॥

राजा तु त्रिविधो ज्ञेयस्सम्राट् च सकरोऽकरः ।

सर्व्वेभ्यः क्षितिपालेभ्यो नित्यं गृह्णाति वै करम् ॥

स सम्राडिति विज्ञेयश्चक्रवर्त्ती स एव हि ।

मासि मासि करन्दद्यात्प्रत्यन्दश्च तथैव च ॥

सकरः स तु विज्ञेयो राजलक्षणसंयुतः ।

१ चण्डेश्वरगुरुः । “मदुरूपद्वतौ” इति च राजनीतिरत्नाकरे षोडशे

तरङ्गे द्रष्टव्यम् ।

२ या० । १ । ३०७-८ ।

३ एषः पाठो मुद्रितनारदस्मृतौ नोपलभ्यते । नारदीयो धर्मशास्त्रादन्य

एवार्थशास्त्रग्रन्थ इति प्रतीयते ।

करं सन्देशव्याजेन यो ददाति हि स्नेच्छया ।
अधीश्वरन्तमेवाङ्गः शास्त्रे शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥
महाभारते ।

“इन्द्रादनवरः श्रीमान् देवैरपि सुदुर्जयः ।
तस्य सर्व्वे महीपाला वर्त्तन्ते स्म वशे सदा ।
स हि सम्राडभूतेषां वित्तेन च बलेन च ।
पारावारमभिव्याप्य शासना यस्य नान्यथा^१ ।
तस्याधीनास्तु विज्ञेया राजानश्च अधीश्वराः” ॥

तथा च सकलराजभ्यो यः करग्राही स सम्राट् । सम्राजे करदो
यः स सकरः । स्नेच्छया करदोऽकरः ॥ स्मृत्या^२ दावमी राजत्वेन
प्रख्याता, लोके तु राजेति सकरः चक्रवर्त्ती सम्राट् अधीश्वरो
महाराज इति प्रसिद्धाः, विशेषप्रतिपत्त्यनुरोधात् ; परन्तु त्रया-
णामपि धर्म सममेव विशेषानभिधानात् । तथा च मनुः^३ ।

“इन्द्रानिल-यमार्काणामग्रेषु वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥
यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां^४ मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्व्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥
तपत्यादित्यवच्चैव चक्षूषि च मनांसि च ।
न चैनं भुवि शक्नोति कश्चिदप्यभिवीक्षितुम् ॥

१ म० भा० । आश्र० प० । ४ । १७, १८ ॥ तस्याधीनास्त्वित्यादि-
श्लोकार्धो नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितग्रन्थेषु ॥

२ ‘स्मृतादावमी’ इति पाठः पुस्तकत्रये ।

३ म० । ७ । ४-ई, ६ ॥

४ (क) । नरेन्द्राणामिति ।

एकमेव दहत्यग्निर्नरन्दुरूपसर्पिणम्^१ ।

कुलन्दहति राजाग्निस्सपशुद्रव्यसञ्चयम्^२ ॥

व्यासः ।

“पर्जन्य इव लोकानामाधारः पृथिवीपतिः” ॥^३

राज-नीति-कामधेनौ । अधीश्वरो द्विविधः “गौर्यादकरः
सम्राडनुग्रहादकरः । आद्यः स्वेच्छयेव दण्डादि ददाति । द्वितीयोऽप्यनु-
ग्रहात् । ‘अकरस्तु स्वयं सर्वं, यदि सम्राडनुग्रहः । तदा न्यायपथेनैव,
कुरुते रिपुसूदने’ तिसृतेः । द्वितीयाभिप्रायेणेदम् ; आद्यश्चमायं
सन्देशयाजेन किञ्चित्करं ददाति । सकरोऽपि द्विविधः अधिकृत-
दण्डादिरनधिकृतदण्डादिः । आद्यस्य न्याये पुनर्न्यायस्तेन कृतो दण्डो^४
न निवर्तते, द्वितीयस्य न्यायेऽधिकारो दण्डे नाधिकारः । न्यायस्य
पुनर्न्यायोऽपि । यदि हठात्कारेण विरुद्धाना^५ चरति तदा साहसे
यथासाहसं धनग्रहणं^६ दण्डोऽसाहसे तत्समौपं गते प्रसादकरमनादाय
दिनद्वयं दिनत्रयं वा स्वदर्शनन्न कारयतीति तिरस्कारः सम्राजा
करणीयः । तत्प्रजासु तत्कृतं सम्राजाऽनिवर्त्यम् । ‘अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः
सर्वाः स्वतन्त्राः पृथिवीपतिरिति नारदीयात्^७ । अस्यायत्रैव
तात्पर्यं, सम्राडादौ तदसंभवात् । संप्रदायोऽपि तथैवेति^८ ।

१ एकएवेति द्विरुपसर्पिणमिति च पाठः पुस्तकत्रये ।

२ नास्ति मुद्रितव्यासस्मृतौ ॥

३ (क) । आद्यस्य पुनर्न्यायः ।

४ (ख) । विरुद्धमिति ।

५ (ख) । धनग्रहणमिति ।

६ ना० स्मृ० । ऋणादानं प्र० । ३३ ।

७ (क) (ग) योः ‘तथैवेतीति’ इति ।

अमीषां साधारणधर्मानाह मनुः^१ ।

“ब्राह्मणान् पर्युपासीत प्रातस्तथाय पार्थिवः ।
 त्रैविद्यविद्वान् विदुषस्त्रिष्टेप्तेषाञ्च शासने ॥
 वृद्धांश्च नित्यं सेवेत विप्रान् वेदविदः शुचीन् ।
 वृद्धसेवो हि सततं रक्षोभिरभिपूज्यते ॥
 तेभ्यो ऽधिगच्छेद्दिनयं विनीतात्मापि नित्यशः ।
 विनीतात्मा हि नृपतिर्न विनश्यति कर्हिचित् ॥
 बहवोऽविनयान्नष्टा राजानस्सपरिच्छदाः ।
 वनस्थाश्चैव राज्यानि विनयात्प्रतिपेदिरे ॥
 वेणो विनष्टोऽविनयान्नङ्गपञ्चैव पार्थिवः ।
 सुदाः पैजवनश्चैव^२ सुमुखो^३ निमिरेव च ॥
 पृथुस्तु विनयाद्राज्यं प्राप्नुयान्मनुरेव च ।
 कुवेरस्तु धनैश्चर्यं ब्राह्मण्यश्चैव गाधिजः” ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

“अन्यायेन नृपो राष्ट्रात्स्रकोशं योऽभिवर्द्धयेत् ।
 सोऽचिराद्विगतश्रीको नाशमेति सवान्धवः” ॥^४
 विनयः सुनीतिः सुशीलमिति केचित् ॥ मनुः^५ ।
 “त्रैविद्येभ्यस्तथौ विद्यादण्डनीतिश्च शाश्वतीम् ।
 आन्वीक्षिकीञ्चात्मविद्यां वार्त्तारम्भांश्च लोकतः” ॥

१ म० । ७ । ३७-४२ ।

२ रक्षाभिरिति पुस्तकत्रये ।

३ सुन्दरपैजवनश्चैवेति पुस्तकत्रये ।

४ (क) (ग) योः । नेमिः ॥ (ख) । नैमिः ॥ मानवे । निमिः ।

५ या० । १ । ३३८ ।

६ म० । ७ । ४३-४८ ।

चयीमृग्यजुस्सामवेदान् आन्वीचिकीं तर्कविद्यां आत्मविद्यां
वेदान्तम् : वार्त्ता[म्] कृषिवाणिज्यादि शिञ्जेतेत्यर्थः ।

“इन्द्रियाणाञ्जयेद्योगं समातिष्ठेद्विवर्त्तयन् ।

जितेन्द्रियो हि शक्नोति वशे^१ स्थापयितुं प्रजाः” ॥

इन्द्रियाणां दृष्टविकारञ्जयेदित्यर्थः ॥

“दश कामसमुच्छ्राणि^२ तथाष्टौ क्रोधजानि च ।

व्यसनानि दुरन्तानि प्रयत्नेन विवर्त्तयेत् ॥”

अष्टादश व्यसनानि त्यजेत् । तद्धेतुमाह ।

“कामजेषु प्रसक्तो हि व्यसनेषु महौपतिः ।

वियुज्यतेऽर्थकामाभ्यां क्रोधजेष्वात्मनैव तु ॥

मृगयाच्चा^३ दिवा खग्नः परिवादस्त्रियो मदः ।

तौर्त्यत्रिकं वृथाया च कामजो दशको गुणः ।

पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोह ईर्ष्यासूयार्थदूषणम् ।

वाग्दण्डञ्च पाद्व्यं क्रोधजोपि गणो^४ऽष्टकः ॥

व्यसनस्य च मृत्योश्च कष्टं व्यसनमुच्यते ।

व्यसन्यधोऽधो व्रजति स्वर्यात्यव्यसनी मृतः” ॥^५

तौर्त्यत्रिकं नृत्यगीतवाद्यं, वृथाया विफलभ्रमणं, साहसं वधादि.

१ मानवे तु ‘इन्द्रियाणाञ्जये’ इति पाठ उपलभ्यते ।

२ (ख) । रणे इति ।

३ म० । समुत्थानि ।

४ मृगयाच्चा इति मेधातिथिः ।

५ गुणो० । इति पुस्तकत्रये ।

६ म० । ७ । ५३ ।

वाग्दण्डञ्च वाक्पाख्यं दण्डपाख्यं, एष्वष्टादशस्यसनेष्वतिप्रसक्तिरेव
निषिद्धा, न तु तत्संबन्ध एव राज्ञस्तद्विधेः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ ।

“पटे ताम्रपदे वापि^२ समुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम् ।

अभिलेख्यात्मनो वंशानात्मानञ्च महीपतिः ।

अलभ्यमीहेर्द्धर्मेण लभ्यं यत्नेन पालयेत् ।

पालितं वर्द्धयेन्नित्यं^३ वृद्धं पात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत् ॥

स्वरभ्रगोप्तान्वीचिक्यां दण्डनीत्यान्तथैव च ।

विनीतस्त्वर्थवान्तायां त्रय्याच्चैव^४ नराधिपः” ॥

मनुः^५ ।

“अलभ्यं चैव लिप्सेत लभ्यं रक्षेत्प्रयत्नतः ।

रक्षितं वर्द्धयेच्चैव वृद्धं पात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत् ॥

एतच्चतुर्विधं विद्यात्युत्सार्थप्रयोजनम् ।

अस्य सम्यगनुष्ठानं नित्यं कुर्यादतन्द्रितः^६ ॥”

खनामाङ्कितमुद्रया स्वपत्रमात्रमङ्कयेत् । धनागमसमीक्षा धन-
पालनवर्द्धनानि कुर्यात्, पात्रेषु विश्वासपात्रेषु निःक्षिपेत् अतन्द्रितः
निरालसः, धर्मेणेति सर्व्वचान्वयः । “धर्मेण दण्डविजयकरादिना
वृद्धं भोगाद्युर्व्वरितं धनन्दानाय भुक्तये^७” इति स्मृतेः । “वृद्धं
व्यावहारिकधना” इति नौतिकल्पतरुः ॥

१ या० । १ । ३१७, ३१५, ३०६ ।

२ या० । पटे वा ताम्रपत्रे वा इति ।

३ या० । वर्द्धयेन्नित्या इति ।

४ (क) (ग) । त्रय्याच्चैव ॥ (ख) । सदा चैव ॥

५ म० । ७ । ६६, १०० ।

६ म० । अस्य नित्यमनुष्ठानं सम्यगिति । ७ (क) । भुक्तये इति ।

“अध्यासोद्वाहयेद्भार्यां^१ सर्वर्षां लक्षणाव्तिताम् ।

कुले महति सभूतां हृद्यां रूपगुणाव्तिताम् ॥

कन्यानां संप्रदानञ्च कुमारणाञ्च रक्षणम्^२ ।

राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहे नित्यं विधानमिदमाचरेत्^३ ॥”

सर्वर्षां सजातीयां, लक्षणाव्तितां धर्मशास्त्रोक्तलक्षणाव्तितां, रूप-
गुणाव्तितां सामुद्रिकलक्षणलक्षितां, कन्यासुदहेत्, कन्यादानं कुमार-
रक्षणं कार्यं, राष्ट्रसंग्रहे ददमवश्यमेव कार्यमित्यर्थः ।

“स्वयं गृहीतराष्ट्रो हि पार्थिवः सुखमेधते^४ ॥”

पुत्रादितो दुःखसन्देहात् स्वयं गृहीतराज्यो भूयादित्याशयः ॥

“ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं चत्रियेण यथाविधि ।

सर्वस्यास्य यथान्यायं कर्त्तव्यं परिरक्षणम्^५ ॥”

अत्र चत्रियपदं राजपरं उपनयनादिसंस्कारवता परिरक्षण
कार्यमिति प्राशस्त्यपरं, “बालोपि नावमन्तव्य^६” इति मनोरेवं
प्रागुक्तेः ॥

तद्यथा ।

उत्थाय पश्चिमे यामे कृतशौचः समाहितः ।

ऊताग्निर्ब्राह्मणांश्चार्च्यं प्रविशेत् स शुभां सभाम्^७ ॥

सभाकर्त्तव्यकलापाः “व्यवहारान्नृपः पश्येदि”^८त्यादिना धर्म-
शास्त्रनिबन्धे विस्तारिताः ॥

“व्यायाम्यामुत्य मध्याह्ने भोक्तुमन्तःपुरं विशेत् ।

१ म० । ७ । ७७ । तदध्यासोद्वाहयेद्भार्यामिति म० ॥ २ म० । ७ । १५२ ।

३ म० । ७ । ११३ । ४ म० । ७ । ११३ । ५ म० । ७ । २ ।

६ म० । ७ । ६ । ७ म० । ७ । १४५ । ८ या० । २ । १ ।

तत्रात्मभूतैः कालज्ञैराहार्यपरिचारकैः ।

सुपरोक्षितमन्त्राद्यमद्यान्मन्त्रैर्विषापहैः^१ ॥”

महाभारते ।

“इन्द्रियाणि तु सर्वाणि वाजित्परिपालयेत् ।

हितायैव भविष्यन्ति रक्षितं द्रविणं यथा ॥

आत्मा रक्ष्यस्तु सततं भोजनादिषु भारत ।

विहाराहारकाले तु मातृशय्यासनेषु च^२ ॥”

हारीतः ।

“प्राप्तकालस्तु नौतिज्ञ उत्तिष्ठेत्कालसर्पवत् ।

महत्कल्पोप्युपायज्ञस्तमये भवति क्षमः ॥

अविद्वानपि भूपालो विद्यादृष्टोपसेवया ।

परां सिद्धिमवाप्नोति जलामसन्नतर्यथा ॥

सत्यैश्वर्यं तथा त्यागो नृपस्यैते महागुणाः ।

एतैस्त्यक्तोमहोपालः प्राप्नोति खलु वाच्यताम्^३ ॥”

आत्मभूतैः प्रियैः, कालज्ञैस्तुरैः, सर्वापायैरात्मा रक्ष्य इति
वर्तुलार्थः ॥

प्रधानतो राज्ञ एत ऐहिकस्वार्थाः । न च प्रजारक्षणादृष्टार्थक-
त्वादिदमुक्तमयुक्तम् ; अरक्षणे प्रजाक्षेप-विरागभागधेय-भङ्गप्रसङ्गात्,
अत्र दृष्टान्तो‘वेणो विनष्ट’ इति ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो राजनिरूपणतरङ्गः ॥

१ म० । ७ । २१६, १७ ।

२ म० भा० । आ. अ. प. । ५ । १३-१६ ।

३ नास्ति मुद्रितहारीतधर्मः ।

अथामात्यनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. II.)

अमात्यं विना राज्यकार्यं न निर्वह्यतोऽत्र प्रथमममात्यो
निरूप्यते ॥

मनुः^१ ।

मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूरान् लब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्गतान् ।

सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परौचितान् ॥

मौलान् कुलसेवकान्, कुलोद्गतान् कुलीमान् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^२ ।

मन्त्रिणस्तु^३ प्रकुर्वीत प्राज्ञान्^४ मौलान् स्थिराञ्शुचौन् ।

तैस्साङ्गं चिन्तयेद्राज्यं विप्रेणाथ ततः स्वयम् ॥

प्रथमं मन्त्रिभिः सह मन्त्रयेत् । ततो ब्राह्मणेन, ततः स्वयम्
रहसि मन्त्रयेद्विचारयेदित्यर्थः ॥

अमात्यकरणे हेतुमाह मनुः^५ ।

सुखेनापि यत्क्रियते^६ तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ।

विशेषतोऽसहायेन किञ्च^७ राज्यं महोदयम् ॥

तथा

^१अमात्यमुख्यं धर्मज्ञं प्राज्ञं दान्तं कुलोन्नतम्^८ ।

स्थापयेदासने तस्मिन् खिन्नः कार्यं चणे नृणाम् ॥

१ म० । ७ । ५४ ।

२ या० । १ । ३१० ।

३ या० “समन्त्रिणः” ॥ प्रज्ञानिति पुस्तकत्रयपाठोऽप्युद्धः ।

४ म० । ७ । ५५ ।

५ म० । अपि यत्सुकरं कर्म इति ।

६ “किमु” । इति मिथिलास्य-प्रिवेश्वरशर्म-गृह-प्राप्त-लिखितमानवपुस्तके

पाठः । ७ म० । ७ । १४१ । ८ म० । “कुलोद्गतम्” ।

अमात्येषु मुख्यलक्षणेकं मानार्थं पृथगाग्ने स्थापयेत् । अचार्यं
व्यासः^१ ।

सृतिस्तत्परमार्थेषु वितर्कं ज्ञाननिश्चयः ।

दृढता मन्त्रगुप्तिश्च मन्त्रिणः परमो गुरुः ॥

मन्त्रिण इत्यार्षत्वादेकवचनम्^२ ॥

मनुः^३ ।

तैःसाङ्गं मन्त्रये^४ न्नित्यं सामान्यं सन्धिविग्रहम् ।

स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिलब्धप्रशमनानि च ॥

तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।

सामन्तानाञ्च^५ कार्येषु विदध्याच्छिवमात्मनः^६ ॥

सन्धिविग्रहमिति समाहारः, सन्धिविग्रहमित्युपलक्षणम् । पृथक्
पृथक् मतमाकलय्य चिरं चिन्तयेत् ॥

‘सर्वेष्वान्तु विशिष्टेन ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।

मन्त्रयेत्परममन्त्रं राजा षाड्गुणसंयुतम्^७ ॥

‘नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्रितः सर्वकार्याणि निःक्षिपेत् ।

तेन साङ्गं विनिश्चित्य ततः कर्त्तव्यं समारभेत् ॥

१ अत्र व्यासवचनानि लुप्तव्यासस्मृत्युद्धृतानीति । नैतानि प्रचलितव्यास
स्मृत्युपलभ्यन्ते ।

२ कौटिलीये (५ । ३ ॥ ८ । ४) मन्त्रीति प्रधानमन्त्री ।

३ म० । ७ । ५६, ५७ ।

४ म० । ‘चिन्तयेत्’ ।

५ म० । “समस्तानाम्” ।

६ म० । “हितमात्मनः” ।

७ म० । ७ । ५८ ।

८ (क) (ग) योः । “संयुतः” ।

९ म० । ७ । ५९ ।

पूर्वोक्तेन ब्राह्मणेन परममन्त्रं निर्गलितार्थं षाड्गुणं राजा
मन्त्रयेदित्यन्वयः । “मन्त्रिणां विग्रहो यानमासनं दैधमाश्रय” इति
कोषः^१ । तद्भावः षाड्गुणमित्यर्थः ॥

महाभारते ।

मन्त्रिणश्चैव कुर्वीथा दिजान् विद्याविशारदान् ।
विनीतांश्च कुलीनांश्च धर्मार्थकुशलानृजून ॥
अमात्यानुपधातीतान् पितृपैतामहान् शुचीन् ।
दान्तान् कर्मसु पुण्यांश्च मुख्यान् कर्मसु योजयेत्^२ ॥
तैस्तार्द्धं मन्त्रयेथास्त्रं नात्यर्थं वज्रभिस्तह ।
समस्तैरपि च व्यस्तैर्व्यपदेशेन केनचित् ॥

उक्तलक्षणान् ब्राह्मणान् मन्त्रेषु योजयेत्, वज्रभिः सह न
मन्त्रयेत्, अपि मन्त्रयेत्तदा केनचित् व्यपदेशेनेत्यर्थः । लक्षणमुखे-
नामात्यधर्मानाहतुर्नारदहारीतौ^३ ।

कोऽनेत्यहमिति ब्रूयात्सम्यगादेशयेति च ।
आज्ञां न वितथां कुर्याद्यथाशक्ति महीपतेः ॥
अल्पेच्छो^४ धृतिमान् प्राज्ञश्चाथैवानुगतः सदा ।
आदिष्टो न विकल्पेद्यः स राजवसतिं वसेत् ॥
दूरादेवेक्षणे हासः संप्रश्नेष्वादरो भृशम् ।
परोक्षेऽपि गुणः स्नाध्यः स्मरणं प्रियवस्तुषु ॥

१ अमरः । २ । ८ । १८ । २ म० भा० । आश्रम० ॥ ५ ॥ २० । १४ । २१ ।

३ म० भा० । “पुण्यांश्च पुण्यान् सर्वेषु योजयेः ।” इति वज्रदेशमुद्रितभारते ।

ब्राह्मिणे तु “सर्वेषु मुख्यान् मुख्येषु योजयेः ।” इति ।

४ नोपलभ्यन्ते नारदस्मृतौ । ५ (क) । अल्पेच्छः ॥ (ख) (ग) योः । अल्पेक्षः ।

अतथ्यान्यपि तथ्यानि दर्शयन्त्यतिपेशलाः ।
 समे निम्नोन्नतानीव चित्रकर्मविदो जनाः ॥
 नानिवेद्य प्रकुर्वीत भर्तुः किञ्चिदपि प्रियम् ।
 कार्यमापन्नतीकारादन्यत्र जगतीपतेः ॥
 स चामात्यः सदा श्रेयान् काकिनीमपि^१ वर्द्धयेत् ।
 कोषं प्राङ्मर्थ्यतः प्राणान् ततः प्राणाः स भूपतेः ॥

अल्पेच्छो नातिधनाकाञ्ची; क्वायेवानुगतो मन्त्रादिकार्यकाले न
 तु रहस्यकर्मदौ निषेधश्रवणात्; पेशलाः प्रवीणाः, समे निम्नो-
 न्नतानीवेति यथा चित्रलेखकाः पटादौ लिखनकौशलेन समे निम्न-
 सुन्नतन्दर्शयन्ति तथैव प्रवीणमन्त्रिणश्चातुर्येणातथ्यानि अप्रतीर्याणि
 सप्रतीर्याणि दर्शयन्ति ॥ तथा च यस्य प्रतीकारोत्तरादि नास्ति
 तस्य तत्संपादयन्तीत्याशयः ॥ आपदि प्रियमपृष्टमपि कुर्वीतैत्यर्थः,
 काकिनी वराटकसंख्या, प्राणाः प्राणतुल्याः ॥

अन्यच्च ।

धूर्तः स्त्री वा शिशुर्यस्य मन्त्रिणः स्युर्महीपतेः ।
 अनौतिपवनोत्क्षिप्तः कार्यार्थौ स निमज्जति ॥
 येषां राज्ञा सह स्थातामुपचयापचयौ भ्रुवम् ।
 अमात्या इति तान् राजा नावमन्येत्कदाचन ॥
 महीभुजो मदान्धस्य विषमे कार्यसागरे ।
 स्थूलतो हि करालम्भः सुहृत्सचिवचेष्टितम् ॥
 मूर्खं नियुज्यमाने तु त्रयो दोषा महीपतेः ।
 अथशोऽर्थविनाशश्च नरके पतनन्तथा ॥

१ “यः काकिन्यपि” । इति पुस्तकत्रयपाठः सर्वथाऽशुद्धः ।

प्राज्ञे नियुज्यमाने च सन्ति राज्ञस्तथो गुणाः ।

यशः स्वर्गविलासश्च^१ पुष्कलश्च धनागमः ॥

धूर्तस्त्रीवालमूर्खा न मन्त्रिणः कार्याः, प्राज्ञा एव मन्त्रिणः कार्याः । अत्रापि खोपचयापचयफलभागिनः प्रथमतो मन्त्रिणः कार्याः उक्तदोषगुणश्रवणात् । पुष्कलः सकलः । नन् प्रथमोक्तलक्षण-
वालस्य कथमत्र निषेधो युक्त इति चेत्सत्यं परन्तु त्रयोधर्मस्य सर्व-
गुणेषु प्रावल्यात् । तेन तत्कृतान्यायशङ्कां निरस्तुमशक्यत्वात् । अतएव
मनुः^२ ।

मत्तोन्मत्तार्त्ताद्यधीनैवांलेन स्वविरेण वा ॥

नारदः^३ । “यद्वालः कुरुते कार्यमि”त्यादि ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽमात्यतरङ्गः ॥

१ स्वर्गं इति सुवचम् ।

२ निरास्तितुं इति साधौघान् ।

३ म० । ८ । १६३ ।

४ ना० । ऋण० प्र० । ३६ ।

अथ पुरोहितादितरङ्गः ॥ (C. III.)

सर्वमङ्गलकारणमतोऽच पुरोहितो निरूप्यते ।

व्यासः^१ ।

वेदवेदार्थतत्त्वज्ञो जपहोमपरायणः ।

आग्नीर्वादपरो दक्ष एष राजपुरोहितः ॥

इदं पुरोहितस्वरूपम् । मनुः^२ ।

पुरोहितश्च कुर्वीत वृणुयादेव चर्त्विजः ।

तस्य गृह्याणि कर्माणि कुर्युर्वै तानि कानिचित्^३ ।

यजेत राजा क्रतुभिर्विविधैरान्नदक्षिणैः ।

धर्मार्थं चैव विप्रेभ्यो दद्याद्भोगान्धनानि च ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^४ ।

पुरोहितश्च कुर्वीत दैवज्ञमुदितोदयम् ।

श्रौतस्मार्तक्रियाहेतोर्वृणुयादेव चर्त्विजम् ॥

यज्ञांश्चैव प्रकुर्वीत विधिवद्भूरिदक्षिणान् ।

भोगांश्च दद्याद्विप्रेभ्यो वस्त्रानि विविधानि च ॥

अन्नयोऽयं निधौ राज्ञा विप्रेभ्यः प्रतिपादितम्^५ ।

अस्कन्दनमययज्ञैव^६ प्रायश्चित्तैरदूषितम् ॥

१ नोपलभ्यते मुद्रितव्यासस्मृतौ । २ म० । ७ । ७८, ७९ ।

३ म० । तेऽस्य वैतानिकानि च इति ।

४ या० । १ । ३११-३१४ । ३१५ ।

५ ० राज्ञां यद्विप्रेषूपपादितमिति अपरार्कः ।

६ या० । अस्कन्नमययज्ञं (यज्ञं वा) ।

अग्नेः सकाशादिप्राप्तौ ऊतं श्रेष्ठमिहोच्यते ।

अलिक्पुरोहिताचार्यैराशौभिर्भिवन्दितः ॥

अस्कन्दनमन्यत्रपतनाभावः ॥ उक्तपुरोहितादेरर्थधर्मयोरविशेषा-
दचावसरः । यत्तु यजनादेरदृष्टमेव फलमिति तन्न । “राज्यकामो
विजयकामो धनकामः पुष्टादिकामो यजेद्”त्यादि दर्शनात्, व्यव-
हाराच्च । किञ्चाशौर्वादादेरर्थप्रयोजकस्य पृथगुपादानात् । तथा
चाह मनुः^१ ।

न स्कन्दते न व्यथते न विनश्यति कर्हिचित् ।

वरिष्ठमग्निहोत्रेभ्यो ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे ऊतम् ॥

सममब्राह्मणे दानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणब्रुवे ।

प्राधीते शतषाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारगे ॥

पात्रस्य हि विशेषेण अद्धानतयेव च ।

अन्नं^२ वा वज्रं वा प्रेत्य दानस्यावाप्यते फलम् ॥

न तं स्तेना न चामित्रा हरन्ति न च नश्यति ।

तस्माद्राज्ञा विधा^३तव्यो ब्राह्मणेष्वन्नयो निधिः ॥

प्राधीते विद्यावति इदं प्रासङ्गिकम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतो राजपुरोहितादितरङ्गः ॥

१ म० । ७ । ८३-८६ ।

२ म० । अल्पमिति ॥ ०दानस्य फलमश्रुते इति ।

३ म० । निधा० ।

अथ प्राड्विवाकः ॥ (C. IV.)

कात्यायनः ।

यदा कार्यवशाद् राजा न पश्येत्कार्यनिर्णयम् ।

तदा तत्र नियुञ्जीत ब्राह्मणं शास्त्रपारगम्^१ ॥

स्मृतिः ।

कुलश्रीलगुणोपेतः सत्यधर्मपरायणः ।

प्रवीणः पेशलो दक्षो धर्माध्यक्षो विधीयते ।

धर्माध्यक्षो न्यायकारी, अन्यकार्यासक्तः स्वयं यदि निर्णेतुमशक्त-
स्तदा राजा उक्तलक्षणं ब्राह्मणं न्यायकारित्वे नियुञ्जीदित्यर्थः ॥

वृहस्पतिः ।

राजा कार्यार्थाणि^२ पश्येत प्राड्विवाकोऽथवा द्विजः ।

न्यायाङ्गान्ययतः कृत्वा सभ्यशास्त्रमते स्थितः^३ ॥

विवादे पृच्छति प्रश्नं प्रतिप्रश्नन्तथैव च ।

प्रियपूर्वं प्राग्वदति प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः^३ ॥

पृच्छति विविनक्ति चेति प्राड्विवाकः । “विचारणपर्यन्तमेव प्राड्विवाक-धर्म” इति पल्लवकारः । “न्यायाङ्गानि वह्निजलादीनि तान्ययतः कृत्वेति स्वरसादृष्टादिरपि” इति लक्ष्मीधरः । वस्तु-
तस्तु यथा नृपाज्ञा तथा कुर्यादिति व्यवहारोपि तथैव ॥

१ (ख) । (ग) । वेदपारगमिति ॥ (ख) पुस्तके “शास्त्रपारगमिति पाठा-
न्तरम्” इत्यधिकः पाठः ।

२ (ख) । राजकार्यार्थाणि ॥ “राजा”० इति कल्पतरुकारो लक्ष्मीधरः पठति ॥

३ अपराकस्तु (या० २ । ३ ।) एतद् वृहस्पतिवचनमित्युदाहरति ।

हारीतः ।

यथा शल्यमिषक्कार्यमुद्धरेन्मन्त्रशक्तिः^१ ।

प्राड्विवाकस्तथा शल्यमुद्धरेद्व्यवहारतः ।

मिषक् वैद्यः । शल्यमत्र कलम् ॥

व्यासः ।

विवादानुगतं दृष्ट्वा ससभ्यस्तु प्रयत्नतः ।

विचारयति येनासौ प्राड्विवाकस्ततः स्मृतः ॥

मनुः^२ ।

सोऽस्य कार्याणि पश्येत सभ्यैरेव त्रिभिर्वृतः ।

सभ्यत्रयस्यावश्यकत्वमित्यभिप्रायः, सभ्यचतुष्टयादेः प्रतिषेधाभावात् ।

नारदः^३ ।

यत्र सभ्यो जनः सर्वस्माद्धेतदिति मन्यते ।

म निःशल्यो विचारः स्यात्सशल्यः स्यादितोऽन्यथा ।

“निर्णयविषयं शल्यमधर्मरूपमिति सागरः । अत्रापि दण्डा-
द्धनमित्यर्थपरत्वम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र प्राड्विवाकतरङ्गः ॥

१ वीरमित्रोदये “नारदहारीतौ । यथा शल्यं मिषक्कायादुद्धरेद्यत्न-
युक्तिः ।” इति ।

२ म० । ८ । १० ।

३ (क) । सौम्यं ।

४ ना० । ३ । १७ ।

अथ सभ्यनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. V.)

सभासु साधुसभ्यस्तेन प्रथमं सभा निरूप्यते ॥

हारीतः^१ ।

प्रतिष्ठिताऽप्रतिष्ठिता सुसुद्रिता^२ ग्रासिता सभा ।

चतुर्विधा सभा प्रोक्ता सभ्याश्चैव तथाविधाः ॥

प्रतिष्ठिता पुरे ग्रामे नानाग्रामेऽप्रतिष्ठिता ।

सुद्रिताध्यक्षसंयुक्ता राजयुक्ता च ग्रासिता ॥

नृपाधिकृत-सभ्याश्च स्मृतिर्गणकलेखकौ ।

हेमाम्बुम्बु खपुरुषाः साधनाङ्गानि वै दश ॥

तथाचायमर्थः । या ग्रामे राजग्रामे परिकल्पितस्थले सभा सा प्रतिष्ठिता, यदा कुत्रापि ग्रामे साऽप्रतिष्ठिता, याध्यक्षप्राङ्बिवाका-
द्यधिष्ठिता सा सुद्रिता, या राज्ञाधिष्ठिता सा ग्रासिता इति पूर्वद्वये
चापरद्वयं विशेषणम् । स्मृतिर्द्वैर्गणकलेखकौ खपुरुषा वेत्तपाण्डादयः ॥

एषामूर्द्धा नृपोऽङ्गानां मुखञ्चाधिकृतः कृतः ।

बाह्व सभ्याः स्मृतिर्हस्तौ जङ्घे गणकलेखकौ ॥

हेमाम्बुम्बुदृशौ दृष्टं पादौ खपुरुषास्तथा ।

दशानामपि^३ चैतेषां कर्म प्रोक्तं पृथक् पृथक् ॥

मूर्द्धा मस्तकः । अधिकृतोधिकारी, दृष्टं ग्रास्तेषु ।

वक्ताध्यक्षो नृपः ग्रास्ता सभ्याः कार्यपरिचकाः ।

स्मृतिर्विनिर्णयं ब्रूते जयं दानं दमस्तथा ॥

१ बृहस्पतिश्च अपरार्कटीकायाम् (या० । २ । १ ।) ।

२ (ख) । सुद्रिता । इति पाठोयुक्तः । ३ दासानामपि । इति पुस्तकेषु ।

शपथार्थं हिरण्मात्री अम्बु दधितनुभयोः ।
 गणको गणयेदर्थं लिखेदर्थं च लेखकः ॥
 सङ्गदुक्तं गृहीतार्थं लघुहस्तो^१ जिताचरः ।
 सर्वशास्त्रसमालोकी एष शासनलेखकः^२ ॥
 प्रत्यर्थिसभ्याऽनयनं साक्षिणाञ्च^३ स्वपूतषः ।
 कुर्यादनग्नकौ^४ रचेदर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सदा ॥

अनग्नकावजातन्यायौ । एतानि प्रयोजनानि इत्यर्थः ।

बृहस्पतिः ।

एतद्दशाङ्गकरणं यस्यामध्यास्य पार्थिवः ।
 न्यायान्यश्लेष्ठतमतिः सा सभा पुंससम्पत्ता^५ ॥
 लोकवेदाङ्गधर्मज्ञास्मत्त पञ्च त्रयोपि वा ।
 यत्रोपविष्टा धर्मज्ञा^६ सा यज्ञसदृशी सभा ॥

मनुः^७ ।

यस्मिन्देगे निषीदन्ति विप्रा वेदविदस्त्रयः ।
 राज्ञश्चाधिकृतो^८ विद्वान् ब्राह्मणस्तां^९ सभां विदुः ॥

१ (ख) । लेखकाग्र्यः ।

२ (ख) । एषः प्रोक्तो हि लेखकः ॥ (ग) । एषः स्यात् सत्यलेखकः ॥

३ साक्षिणश्चेति पुस्तकत्रये । साक्षिणाञ्चेति वीरमित्रोदयेऽपि ।

४ अपरार्कमित्रमिश्रोदाहृते बृहस्पतिवचने “कुर्यादनग्नकौ” इति पाठः ।

५ पुंसेत्यर्थः ॥ (ख) । पुर० इति ॥ अध्वर० इति अपरार्कमित्रमिश्रौ पठतः ॥

६ विप्राग्र्या इति अपरार्कपाठः । ७ म० ८ । ११ ॥

८ “राज्ञश्च प्रकृतो” इति मेधातिथिसर्वज्ञनारायणयोः पाठः ।

९ ‘ब्रह्मणस्तामि’ति मानवटीकाकाराः पठन्ति ।

सप्त पञ्च त्रयोऽपि चेति तद्गुणवत्पुरुषपरम् । यज्ञसदृशीति ।
एतदुक्तलक्षणा सभा प्रशस्ता अन्या त्वप्रशस्ता इति भावः ।

सभ्यानाह स^१ एव ।

साधुकर्मक्रियायुक्तास्त्यधर्मपरायणाः ।

अक्रोधलोभाश्चास्त्रज्ञास्तभ्याः कार्या महीभुजा ॥

नारदः^२ ।

राजा तु धार्मिकान् सभ्यान् नियुञ्ज्यात्सुपरीक्षितान् ।

व्यवहारधुरं वोढुं ये शक्तास्तदुषा^३(?) इव ॥

धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलाः कुलीनाः सत्यवादिनः ।

समाः शत्रौ च मित्रे च नृपतेः स्युः सभासदः ॥

विष्णुः^४ ।

धर्मकर्मक्रियोपेताः कार्या राजा सभासदः ॥

व्यवहारोऽत्र विचारः, धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलाः । मन्वादिधर्मशास्त्रा-
णामर्थं कुशला इति प्राञ्चः, नव्यास्तु अत्र धर्मशास्त्रं सुनि-
प्रणीतधर्मप्रयोजकशास्त्रमात्रं तेन मीमांसादेरपि संग्रह इति, मन्मते
उभयोरविरोधः प्रथमे आदिपदोपादानात् परन्तु धर्मशास्त्रं
मन्वादिप्रणीतम्, अर्थशास्त्रं राजनीत्यादि । “यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः

१ मानवे वचनानुपलम्भात्, यज्ञसदृशीत्यादिसन्दर्भाच्च “स एव” इति

बृहस्पतिरित्यनुमीयते ॥

२ ना० । ३ । ४, ५ ।

३ ना० । ‘सद्गवा’ । इति ॥ ‘पुङ्गवा०’ इति स्मृतिचन्द्रिकायां पाठः ।

मदनरत्ने कल्पतरावपि सद्गवा इत्येव पाठ इति मित्रमिश्रः ।

४ वि० । ३ । ७४ । “जन्मकर्मप्रतोपेताश्च राजा सभासदः कार्याः”

इत्यादि विष्णुस्मृतिपाठः ।

स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयो”रिति नारद^१-वचनात् अर्थशास्त्रस्यापि
निर्णायकत्वावगमादिति लक्ष्मीधरेणात्रैव व्याख्यातमिति युक्तम् ॥

कात्यायनः ।

अलुब्ध^२धनवन्तश्च धर्मज्ञाः सत्यवादिनः ।

सर्वशास्त्रप्रवौणाश्च सभ्याः कार्य्या नृपैर्दिजाः ॥

तथा ।

एवं शास्त्रमधौयानो^३ न विद्यात्कार्य्यनिर्णयम् ।

तस्माद्गुर्गमः^४ कार्य्या विवादेनो^५त्तमो नृपैः ॥

यच्च विद्वान्न विप्रः स्यात्सच्चियं तच्च योजयेत् ।

वैश्यं वा धर्मशास्त्रज्ञं शूद्रं यत्नेन वर्जयेत् ॥

वृषलस्य धर्मशास्त्रज्ञानेऽपि धर्मनिर्णयार्थं न नियुञ्जीत ।

तथाहि ।

अतोऽन्यैर्यत्कृतं कार्य्यमन्यायेन च यत्कृतम्^६ ।

नियुक्तैरपि विज्ञेयं दैवाद्यद्यपि शास्त्रतः ॥

यस्य राज्ञस्तु कुर्वते शूद्रो धर्मविवेचनम् ।

तस्य सीदति तद्राष्ट्रं पङ्के गौरिव पश्यतः^७ ॥

१ ना० । १ । ३६ ।

२ अलुब्ध० इति पुस्तकत्रये । अलुब्धा० इति अपरार्कः ।

३ “एकं शास्त्रमधौते यः” इत्यादि कात्यायनवचनं पठत्यपरार्कः ।

४ “०बद्धागम” इति अपरार्कः ।

५ “विवादेषु” इति अपरार्कः ।

६ “अन्यायेन कृतं तु तत्” । इति अपरार्कः ।

७ मानवेऽपि एष श्लोकः । म० । ८ । २१ ।

व्यासः ।

दिजं विहाय यः पश्येत्कार्याणि वृषलैः सह ।

तस्य प्रचुम्भते राष्ट्रं बलं कोषञ्च नश्यति^१ ॥

बृहस्पतिः ।

देशाचारानभिज्ञा ये नास्तिकाः शास्त्रवर्जिताः ।

उन्मत्तलुब्धकुद्धानां न प्रष्टव्या विनिर्णये ॥

एतेन वृषलसहायतापि निषिद्धा । तथा स एव ।

शब्दाभिधानतत्त्वज्ञौ गणनाकुशलौ शुचौ ।

नानालिपिज्ञौ कर्त्तव्यौ राज्ञा गणकलेखकौ ॥

शब्दाभिधानं कोषः, गणको ज्योतिर्वित् लेखको व्याकरणकोष-

वेत्ता दावपि योगरूढौ उभयत्र तथोरेव कुशलतेत्यर्थः ।

नारदः^२ ।

शुद्धेषु व्यवहारेषु शुद्धिं यान्ति सभासदः ।

शुद्धिश्च तेषां धर्माद्धि धर्ममेव वदेत्ततः ॥

कात्यायनः ।

अधर्माद्य यदा राजा नियुञ्जीत विवादिनाम् ।

विज्ञाय नृपतिं सभ्यस्तदाकार्यं निवर्त्तयेत् ॥

इयमाज्ञा अधर्मायेति^३ नृपतिं विज्ञाय निवर्त्तयेत् ।

सभ्येनावश्यकर्त्तव्यं धर्मार्थसहितं वचः ।

शृणोति यदि नो राजा स्यात्तु सभ्यस्ततो नृपः ॥

१ “दिजान्” “कोषश्च” इति अपरार्कः ।

२ ना० । ३ । ७ ॥

३ “अधर्मायेति” । इति पुस्तकत्रयपाठोऽभ्युद्धः ।

न्यायमार्गादपेतन्तु ज्ञात्वा चित्तं महीपतेः ।

वक्तव्यन्तु प्रियं नात्र न सभ्यः किलिविषी भवेत् ॥

न चेत्सभ्यः किलिविषी भवेदित्यर्थः ।

अधर्म्मतः प्रवृत्तन्तु नोपेक्षेरन् सभासदः ।

उपेक्षमाणा सनृपा नरकं धान्यधोमुखाः ॥

अन्यायतो धियासन्तं येऽनुयान्ति सभासदः ।

तेपि तद्भागिनस्तस्माद्बोधनीयस्तु तैर्नृपः ॥

अनुमतिं कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ।

मनुः^१ ।

राजा भवेद्दनेनास्तु मुच्यन्ते च सभासदः ।

एनो गच्छति कर्त्तारं निन्दार्हे यत्र निन्द्यते ॥

धर्म एव हतो हन्ति धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः ।

तस्माद्धर्मो न हन्तव्यो मा नो धर्मो हतो वधोत् ॥

अनेनाः निष्पापः ।

नारदः^२ ।

ये तु सभ्याः सभां प्राप्य दूष्णीं ध्यायन्त आसते ।

यथाप्राप्तं न च ब्रूयुः सर्वं तेऽनृतवादिनः ॥

सभ्याः सभायामधर्मं न्यायं बुद्ध्या मौनिनो न तिष्ठेयुः उक्तदोषात् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र सभ्यतरङ्गः ॥

अथ दुर्गनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. VI.)

मनुः^१ ।

एकशतं योधयति प्राकारस्थो धनुर्द्धरः ।

शतं दशसहस्राणि तस्माद्दुर्गं विधीयते

इति दुर्गस्य प्रयोजनम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यमनू^२ ।

रम्यं पशव्यमाजीव्यं जाङ्गलं देशमाविशेत् ।

तत्र दुर्गाणि कुर्वीत जनकोषात्मगुप्तये ॥

तत्र तत्र च निष्णातानध्यक्षान् कुशलानृजन् ।

प्रकुर्यादायकस्मान्तव्ययकर्मसु चोद्यतान्^३ ॥

पशव्यं पशूनां हितमाजीव्यं कृषिवाणिज्यादि । जाङ्गलमिति ।

^४अल्पोदकदणो यस्तु प्रचारः प्रचुरायतः^५ ।

स ज्ञेयो जाङ्गलो देशो वज्रधान्यादिसंयुतः ॥

एतादृशो देशो जाङ्गल इत्यर्थः । तथा च मुजनहिरण्यरजतमणि-
मुक्ताप्रवालवज्रमूल्यरत्नचौमवस्त्रा^६द्याधारकोष-स्वाभिगुप्तये इत्यर्थः ।

धनुर्दुर्गं महीदुर्गं जलदुर्गं वार्त्तमेव वा ।

नृदुर्गं गिरिदुर्गं वा समाश्रित्य वसेत्पुरम्^७ ॥

१ म० । ७ । ७४ ।

२ या० । १ । ३१६-२० । [म० । ७ । ६६ । ६२ । ८१ ।]

३ (ख) । ० प्रचोद्यतान् । इति ।

४ कुल्लूकटीकायाम् । (म० । ७ । ६६ ।) ।

५ प्रवातः प्रचुरायतः । इति कुल्लूक-पाठः ।

६ (ख) । ० चौरास्त्रा० । इति ।

७ म० । ७ । ७० ।

अस्त्रार्थः—धनुर्दुर्गमुच्छ्रायवेष्टितं सर्वदिशं पञ्चयोजनम् । निर्व्वलं
महीदुर्गं दृषदा पक्षेष्टकथा वा विस्तारा द्वैगुण्योच्छ्रायेण द्वादश-
हस्ताद्युन्नतेन संग्रामार्थमुपरिभ्रमणयोग्येन साधारणगवाचादियुक्तेन
प्राकारेण वेष्टितम् । जलदुर्गमगाधजले चतुर्दिशं परिवेष्टितम् ।
वाचं दुर्गं वह्निश्चतुर्दिशं योजनमात्रं द्रुमकण्टकलतादिवेष्टितम् ।
नृदुर्गं चतुर्दिगवस्थाधि गजाश्वरथयुक्तपदातिपालितम् । गिरिदुर्गं
सर्वतः पृष्ठमतिदुरारोहं सङ्कोचैकमार्गोपेतमध्ये नदीप्रस्रवणादि-
प्रयुक्तजलयुक्तं वज्रव्रीह्युत्पन्नक्षेत्रवृक्षावृत्तम् । दुर्गेषु तेषु मध्यादन्य-
तमदुर्गमाश्रित्य पुरं विचारयेदित्यर्थः । तथा^१ ।

सर्वेण तु प्रयत्नेन गिरिदुर्गं समाश्रयेत् ।

तेषां हि बाहुगुण्येन नृदुर्गन्तु विशिष्यते ॥

त्रीणाद्यान्याश्रितास्त्वेषां मृगगन्ताश्रयाऽपराः ।

त्रीण्युत्तराणि क्रमशः स्रवङ्गमनरामराः^२ ॥

यथा दुर्गाश्रितानेतान् नोपहिंसन्ति शत्रवः ।

तथारथो न हिंसन्ति नृपं दुर्गं समाश्रितम् ॥

तथा च यथा तत्तद्दुर्गाश्रितान् मृगादीन् न हिंसन्ति तथा
उक्तदुर्गाश्रितं नृपं शत्रवो न हिंसन्ति इत्यर्थः ।

तत् स्यादायुधसंपन्नं धनधान्येन वाहनैः ।

ब्राह्मणैः शिल्पिभिर्यन्त्रैर्यवसेनोदकेन च ॥

१ म० । ७ । ७१-७३ ।

२ “नरापराः” । इति पुस्तकत्रय-पाठोऽप्युद्धः । एवं पूर्वार्धेऽपि
“अत्रापरा” इति ।

३ म० । ७ । ७५-७६ ।

तस्य मध्ये सुपर्याप्तं कारयेद् गृहमात्मनः ।
 गुप्तं सर्वर्तुकं शुभं जलवृक्षसमन्वितम् ॥
 भारते^१ ।

पुरञ्च तैः^२ सुगुप्तं स्थावृढप्राकारतोरणम् ।
 अट्टाट्टालकसंवेधं^३ षट्पथं सर्वतो दिशम् ॥
 तस्य दुर्गाणि कार्याणि पर्याप्तानि दृहन्ति च ।
 अदुर्गे विषयः कस्य नारेः परिभवात्सदः^४ ॥
 सर्वतः सुविभक्तानि यन्त्रैरारचितानि च ।
 अदुर्गे नाश्रयो राजा पोतच्युतमनुष्यवत् ॥
 दुर्गे कुर्यान्महाखा^५ तमुच्चप्राकारसंयुतम्^६ ।
 यो यत्र निपुणः कार्यं तच्च तत्र नियोजयेत्^७ ॥
 कार्यमुद्दिष्टकर्मा योऽग्रास्ततोपि स मुह्यति^८ ।

अथास्य संक्षेपः । आयुधधनधान्यवाहनब्राह्मणशिल्पियन्त्रयवसोदन
 पुष्पवाटिकाजलाधारवृक्षयुतं गृहमालयाढ्यञ्च कारयेत् अट्टा-
 ट्टालकाद्यपि दुर्गस्यावश्यकतेति ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र दुर्गतरङ्गः ॥

१ म० भा० । अश्रम० । ५ । १६-१७ । २ म० भा० । ते । इति ।

३ म० भा० । संवाधं षट्पदम् । इति ।

४ नास्ति मुद्रितभारते ।

५ “ख्या०” इति पुस्तकत्रये ।

अथ मन्त्रणा ॥ (C. VII.)

तत्र मन्त्रणादेशमाह मनुः^१ ।

गिरिपृष्ठं समारुह्य प्रासादं वा रहोगतः ।

अरण्ये निःशलाके वा मन्त्रयेद्भूरिभाविः^२ ॥

कालमाह^३ ।

मध्यन्दिनेऽर्द्धरात्रे वा विश्रान्तो गतकल्मषः^४ ।

चिन्तयेद्धर्मकामार्थान् सार्धन्तैरेक एव वा ॥

महाभारते^५ ।

सुसंवृत्तं मन्त्रगृहं स्थलञ्चारुह्य मन्त्रयेत् ।

अरण्ये निःशलाके वा न च रात्रौ कथञ्चन ॥

निःशलाके जनप्रचाररहिते । इत्थं देशकालव्यवस्था कालसापेक्षे ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः^६ ।

मन्त्रमूलं यतोराज्यमतोमन्त्रं सुरक्षितम् ।

कुर्याद्यथास्य न विदुः कर्मणामाफलोदयात् ॥

मनुः^७ ।

जडमूकान्धबधिरास्तैर्यग्योनान्वयोतिगान्^८ ।

स्त्रीस्तेष्वधितव्यज्ञानमन्त्रकालेऽपसारयेत् ॥

१ म० । ७ । १४७ ।

२ म० । अविभाविः । इति ।

३ म० । ७ । १५१ ।

४ म० । विगतकल्मषः । इति ।

५ म० भा० । आश्रम । ६ । २२ ।

६ या० । १ । ३४२ ।

७ म० । ७ । १४६-१५० ।

८ (क) । “०नुयोधिमान्” ।

(ख) (ग) । “०नुयोधिमान्” । इति च पाठां प्रामादिकौ ।

भिन्दन्त्यवमता मन्त्रं तैर्यग्योना^१स्तथैव च ।

स्त्रियश्चैव विशेषेण तस्मात्तत्रादृतो भवेत् ।

महाभारते^२ ।

वानरः पक्षिणश्चैव ये मनुष्यानुसारिणः ।

सर्वे मन्त्रगृहे वार्या ये चापि जडपङ्गवः ॥

मन्त्रभेदे हि ये दोषा भवन्ति पृथिवीचिताम् ।

न ते शक्याः समाधातुं कथञ्चिदिति मे मतिः ॥

एते जडादयो मन्त्रे त्याज्याः यत एते स्वभावतः पापा अव-
मानिताः सन्तो मन्त्रभेदका एवेत्यर्थः ।

मनुः^३ ।

यस्य मन्त्रज्ञ जानन्ति समागम्य पृथग्जनाः ।

स कस्मां पृथिवीं भुङ्क्ते कोषहीनोऽपि पार्थिवः ॥

नौतौ ।

षट्कर्णे भिद्यते मन्त्रस्तथा प्राप्तस्य वार्त्तथा ।

इत्यात्मना द्वितीयेन मन्त्रः कार्यो महीभुजा ॥

षट्कर्ण इति प्रभोर्द्वौ कर्णौ मन्त्रिणां द्वौ कर्णौ तद्विन्नकर्णद्वय-

पतनान्मन्त्रभेद इत्यर्थः ।

राजनौतौ^४ ।

संरक्षेन्मन्त्रबीजन्तु तद्वीजं हि महीभुजाम् ।

तस्मिन् भिन्ने भ्रुवो भेदो गुप्ते गुप्तिरनुत्तमा ॥

१ ०योनः । इति पुस्तकत्रये ।

२ म० भा० । अश्वम० । ५ । २३-२४ ।

३ म० । ७ । १४८ ।

४ कामन्दकीयेऽपि । १२ । ३३ ।

मन्त्रमाह^१ ।

सहायास्साधनोपाया विभागो देशकालयोः ।

विपत्तेश्च प्रतीकारः पञ्चाङ्गो मन्त्र उच्यते ॥

सहाया मन्त्रिणः । साधनोपायास्तर्कादयः । देशकालविभागावुक्तौ,
यदेयं विपत्तिस्तदासौ प्रतीकार इति पञ्चाङ्गोमन्त्रः । अस्य प्रकारः^२ ।

अनुतिष्ठेत्समारम्भमनारम्भं प्रयोजयेत् ।

प्रचारयेन्मन्त्रविदः कार्यद्वारेष्वनेकधा ॥

यत्र तच्चेतसां साम्यं तेन^३ साधु समुत्पतेत् ।

यत्र मन्त्रिमनःसाम्यं तत्र चेतो न शङ्कते ॥

यत्र सन्तो न निन्दन्ति तं परीयाच्चिकीर्षितम् ।

धृतेऽपि मन्त्रे मन्त्रज्ञैः स्वयं भूयो विचारयेत् ॥

कार्यद्वारेषु मन्त्रवहिःस्थलेषु मन्त्रविदः स्वमन्त्रभिन्नान्^४ ।
अनेकधा अनियमितप्रकारेण प्रचारयेत् । तथा चान्योपदेशेन मन्त्र-
सन्देहो निरसनीयोऽन्यमन्त्रित इति । एवं स्वमन्त्रिमतसाम्ये ब्राह्म-
णानुमतं परीयात् एवं निर्गलितार्थमपि स्वयं बहु विचारयेत् ।
युनः तच्चैव^५ ।

१ कामन्दकः । १२ । ३६ । २ कामन्दकः । १२ । ३७-४० ।

३ तेषु । इति गणपतिशास्त्रिणा मुद्रितेऽनन्तप्रयत्नौये कामन्दकीये ।
मैथिलप्राचीन-का०-पुस्तके (१४७६ शाकाङ्किते) “तेन” । इति ।

४ एषोऽर्थो न समीचीनः । “इदं कार्यमुपस्थितं तत्र किमाज्जर्भवन्त
इति कार्योपायेषु प्रवर्तये” इति शङ्करार्यः कामन्दकटीकाकारः ।

५ का० । १२ । ४०-४२ । ४६ ।

तथा वर्त्तेन नौतिज्ञो यथा स्वार्थन्न पीडयेत् ।

मन्त्रिणः स्वार्थतात्पर्याद्दीर्घमिच्छन्ति विग्रहम् ॥

मन्त्रिणां^१ भोग्यतामेति दीर्घकार्याकुलो नृपः ।

आवर्त्तयेन्मुहुर्भन्तमूरयेच प्रयत्नवान्^२ ॥

प्रयत्नेनाधृतो^३ मन्त्रः प्रचलन्नग्निवद्देहेत् ।

यदा दीर्घकार्याकुलः स्यात्तदाऽस्मत्स्वार्थदः स्यादित्यभिप्रायः । अग्नि-
वदिति यथाग्निः प्रचलन् दहेत्तथैव मन्त्रोऽपि ।

“अप्यात्म^४मन्त्रतेर्मन्त्रं संरचेत्तत्परस्तु मन् ।

अरक्ष्यमाणमन्त्रं हि भिन्दन्त्यात्मपरम्पराः ॥

आत्मपरम्परा आत्मीयपरम्पराः । य इष्टस्तस्यापि कोऽपीष्ट इत्यर्थः ।

“मनः प्रसादबुद्धौ^५ च तथा कारणपाटवम्^८ ।

सहायोत्थानसम्यच्च कार्याणां^६ सिद्धिलक्षणम् ॥

मनोऽप्रसादो ऽसत्यञ्च^{१०} सुप्तप्रलपितानि च ।

भिन्दन्ति मन्त्रं प्रच्छन्नाः कामिन्योऽवमतास्तथा ॥

१ तेषां च । इत्यतनन्तप्रयनीय-का० । मन्त्रिणामिति मैथिल-का०-पुस्तके ।

२ धारयेच प्रयत्नतः । इति का० । ३ अप्रयत्नघट इति का० ।

४ का० । १२ । ४५ ।

५ आप्राप्त० । इति का० ।

६ का० । १२ । ४२ । ४६ ।

७ “०प्रसादः शुद्धा वाक्” । इति मै० का० । “प्रसादः अद्वा च” ।

इति अ० का० ।

८ करणपाटवम् । इति का० ।

९ अ० का० । “कर्मणां” ॥ मै० का० । “कार्याणां” ।

१० का० । मदः प्रमादः कामश्च इति ।

प्रसादः प्रसन्नता । बुद्धिर्यथार्थस्वमतपरमतानुसारिणी, कारण-
पाटवं कारणसम्यक्त्वं, सहायोत्थानं प्रबलसाहित्यं, सम्पद्जननेभिः
कार्यसिद्धिः, अप्रमादादिपञ्चासिद्धिकारणं तथाचोक्तमन्त्रेणासाध्यमपि
साध्यं, सकृत्काममिति मनोरभिधानात् तथा चामन्त्रमन्त्रिभेदे स्वप्रमा-
देषु सत्त्वर्थहानिरिति प्रकरणार्थः ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र मन्त्रणातरङ्गः ॥

अथ कोषनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. VIII.)

नीतौ^१ ।

वक्त्रादानोऽल्पनिःस्त्रावः स्त्रातः^२ पूजितदेवतः ।

ईप्सितद्रव्यसंपूर्णो हृद्यः^३ स्त्राप्तेरधिष्ठितः ॥

सुक्ताकनकरत्नाढ्यः पितृपैतामहोचितः ।

धर्म्मार्जितो व्ययसहः कोषः कोषज्ञसम्मतः ॥

आदानमत्र निःक्षेपः, निःस्त्रावो निष्कासनं, स्त्राप्तेरिति प्रत्याचितैर-
धिष्ठितो रक्षितः, पितृपैतामहमुचितं यचेति समासः, धर्म्मार्जितो
राज्ञः प्रजापालनं धर्म्मस्तेनार्जितः, आपदि व्ययेऽपि नाकुलः । ननु
प्रजापालनमदृष्टफलजनकं कथं तेनार्जितमिति चेन्न, प्रजापालन-
स्यापि परम्परयार्थनिमित्तत्वात्, धर्म्माद् वृद्धिरित्यन्ये ।

^४धर्म्महेतोस्तथार्थाय भृत्यानां भरणाय च ।

आपदर्थञ्च संरक्ष्यः कोषः कोषवता सदा ॥

आपदर्थमिति धनेन विपत्तिप्रतीकार इत्याशयः, संरक्ष्य इति
सर्वत्रान्वयः । अत्रार्थं मनुः^५ ।

आपदर्थं धनं रक्षद्द्वारान् रक्षेद्भूतैरपि ।

आत्मानं सततं रक्षेद्द्वारैरपि धनैरपि ॥

आपदर्थं स्त्रीयापदर्थमात्मानमित्युपसंहारात् अत्र धनमित्युप-
लक्षणं 'सर्वत आत्मानं गोपायित' इति श्रुतेः ।

१ कामन्दकः । ४ । ६०-६१ ।

२ "स्त्रातः" । इति साधूयान् कोषस्य नितरां गोपनीयत्वात् ।

३ "हृद्यैः" । इति कामन्दकपाठान्तरम् ।

४ का० । ४ । ६२ ।

५ म० । ७ । २१३ ।

१ चेभ्यां शस्यप्रदां नित्यं पशुवृद्धिकरीमपि ।

परित्यजेन्नृपो भूमिमात्मार्यमविचारयन् ॥

इदं स्वरचाप्रकारान्तराभावे ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ ।

हिरण्यं व्याप्तानौतं भाण्डागारेषु निःक्षिपेत् ॥

व्याप्तानौतं नित्यनैरानौतं कोषस्य भाण्डागारादयोभेदाः अत्र
बहुवचन-निर्देशात् । तदाह राजनौतौ महाभारते^२ च ॥

कोषस्य संचये यन्नं कुर्वीथा न्यायतः सदा ।

विविधस्य महाराज विपरीतं विपर्ययात् ॥

नौतौ^३ ॥

संवर्द्धयेत्सदा कोषमाहैस्तज्ज्ञैरधिष्ठितम् ।

काले चास्य व्ययं कुर्यात्त्रिवर्गपरिवृद्धये^४ ॥

काले आवश्यके, तज्ज्ञैः कोषकर्मप्रवीणैः 'आप्तैरतीष्टसम्बन्धिभि-
स्तज्ज्ञैस्तत्कर्मज्ञैश्चे'ति सागरः । 'तज्ज्ञैरिष्टै'रिति पल्लवः । तथा
च धनार्जनं कोषसंचयश्च त्रिवर्गहेतुरिति । 'धनमर्ज्यं काकुत्स्थ
धनमूलमिदं जगदि'त्याद्युक्तेः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतः कोषतरङ्गः ।

१ म० । ७ । २१२ ।

२ या० । १ । ३२६ ।

३ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ६ । ३६ ।

४ कामन्दकः । ५ । ८६ ।

५ "प्रतिपत्तये" । इति अ० का० ॥ "परिवृद्धये" इति मै० का० ।

अथ बलनिरूपणम् ॥ (C. IX.)

मनुः^१ ।

बलस्य स्वामिनश्चैव स्थितिः कार्यार्थसिद्धये ॥

बलमत्र षडात्मकं स्वामिपदस्वरसात् । भारते^२ ॥

यात्राङ्गच्छेदलैर्युक्तो राजा षड्भिः परन्तप ।

युक्तश्च देशकालाभ्यां तथा बलगुणैर्नृपः ॥

दृष्टपुष्टबलो गच्छेद्राजा वृद्धादये रतः ।

आहृतस्याप्यथो यायादनृतावपि पार्थिवः ॥

बलगुणैरित्यत्र बलं त्रिविधशक्त्यात्मकं, बलं शक्तिमात्रं तस्याः प्रथमत उपयुक्तत्वात् इत्यन्ये । गुणा अत्र सन्ध्यादयः शरशिखादयोऽपि, दण्डिनीत्यादयः, इति गुरवः । अनृतावपि वक्ष्यमाणसंग्रामसमय-भिन्ने, षड्भिर्हस्त्यश्वरथपदातिसेनासैन्यात्मकैः^३ । शक्तिस्त्रिविधा प्रभावजा उत्साहजा मन्त्रजा एतास्त्रपि मन्त्रजा बलवती तदाह कामन्दकः^४ ।

प्रभावोत्साहशक्तिभ्यां मन्त्रशक्तिः प्रशस्यते ।

प्रभावोत्साहवान् काव्यो जितो देवपुरोधसा^५ ॥

अशिक्षितनयः सिंहो हन्तीभं यौवनं बलात् ।

तच्च वीरो नरस्तेषां शतानि मतिमान् जयेत् ॥

१ म० । ७ । १६७ । २ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ७ । १२-१३ ।

३ 'सेना-सेनान्यात्मकैरित्युचितम् ॥ कामन्दकीये तु 'षडङ्गं मन्त्र-कोशाभ्यां पदात्यश्वरथद्विपैः' (का० । १६ । २४) ।

४ का० । १२ । ७-८ । १०-११ ।

५ जितो देवपुरोधसेति पौराणिकी कथा शङ्करार्यटीकायां द्रष्टव्या ।

शक्याशक्यपरिच्छेदं कुर्याद् बुद्ध्या प्रसन्नया ।
 केवलं दण्डभङ्गाय दण्डिनः शैलताडनम्^१ ॥
 उपायपूर्वं लिप्सेत कालं वीक्ष्य समुत्पतेत् ।
 पश्चात्तापाय भवति विक्रमैकरसज्जता ॥

मनुः^२ ।

कृत्वा विधानं मूले च याचिकञ्च यथाविधि ।
 उपगुह्यास्पदञ्चैव चारान् सम्यग् विधाय च ॥
 संगोष्ठ्य त्रिविधं मार्गं षड्विधञ्च बलं स्वकम् ।
 साम्प्रदायिककल्पेन यायादरिपुरं शनैः ॥

मूले दुर्गराष्ट्ररूपे, विधानं पार्ष्णिग्राह्यमभिधानं, याचिकं याचो-
 पयुक्तं वाहनादि आस्पदं शत्रुदेशावस्थानायान्नादि, चारान् शत्रुदेश-
 मार्गमन्त्रविदस्तत्पञ्चकापटिकादौन् साम्प्रदायिककल्पेन सांश्रामिक-
 कल्पेन ।

भारते^३ ।

प्रयास्यमानो नृपतिस्त्रिविधं परिचिन्तयेत् ।
 आत्मनश्चैव शत्रोश्च शक्तिं शास्त्रविशारदः ॥
 उत्साहप्रभुशक्तिभ्यां मित्रशक्त्या च भारत ।
 उपपन्नो नृपो यायाद्विपरीतमतोऽन्यथा^४ ॥

षड्विधमपि चतुर्विधं तच्चैव ।

१ दन्तभङ्गाय दन्तिनः० इति (क)(ग)योः, कामन्दकीये च ।

२ म० । ७ । १८४-८५ ।

३ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ७ । ५-६ ।

४ म० भा० । विपरीतञ्च वर्जयेत् । इति ।

आददीत बलं राजा मौलं मित्रबलं तथा ।

सदा अरिबलञ्चैव तथा श्रेणीबलञ्च यत्^१ ॥

तत्र मित्रबलं राजन् मौलञ्चैव विशिष्यते ।

श्रेणीबलं भृतञ्चैव तुल्यमेवेति मे मतिः ।

यथाचारबलञ्चैव परस्परसमं नृप ॥

मौलं पिढपितामहादिक्रमागतम्, अरिबलं शत्रुं विहायागतम् ।
श्रेणीबलं साहित्यार्थमागतम् । तथा च मौलबलं मित्रबलञ्च विश्व-
सनीयमतो विशिष्यते, श्रेणीबलन्तु भृतकवत् यथा भृतकस्य भरण-
मेवनिमित्तं तेन प्राणसंग्रयेऽपसरणसंभावना तथा श्रेणीबलस्य
साहित्यनिमित्तादपसरणसंभावना । अयमाशयः अरिबलस्य ग्रहण-
मरिन्धूनीकरणाय न तु तत्र विश्वासः, पञ्चमे चारबले उभयसम्ब-
न्धादविश्वासस्तथैवेत्यर्थः । अतएव मनुः^२ ।

शत्रुसेविनि मित्रे च गूढे युक्ततरो भवेत् ।

गतप्रत्यागते चैव स हि कष्टतरो रिपुः ॥

गतप्रत्यागते एकदा तिरस्कारादिना बहिःकृते पुनरागते कष्टतर
इति तेन कृतं वैरिनिर्व्यातनम् अप्रतीकार्यमेवेति भावः । मनुः^३ ।

मार्गशीर्षे शुभे मासि यायाद्याचाक्षहौपतिः ।

फाल्गुनं वायु चेन्न वा मासौ प्रति यथावलम् ॥

अन्येष्वपि तु कालेषु यदा पश्येद् भुवं जयम् ।

तदा यायाद्विगृह्यैव व्यसने चोत्थिते रिपोः ॥

१ म० भा० । बलं प्रभो । इति । २ म० भा० । तथा । इति ।

३ म० । ७ । १८६ ।

४ म० । ७ । १८२-१८३ ।

मार्गशीर्षे अग्रहणे खेच्छागमनमुक्तमिदं नाङ्गानेन गमनादौ
तदा गमने प्रत्यवायप्रसङ्गात् । संचिप्याह याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ ।

यदा सम्यगुणोपेतं^२ परराष्ट्रं तदा व्रजेत् ॥

इदं पूर्वकृत्यमथ संग्रामकृत्यमाह मनुः^३ ।

दण्डव्यूहेन तन्मार्गं यायात्तु शकटेन वा ।

वराहमकराभ्यां वा सूच्या वा गरुडेन वा ॥

यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत्ततोविस्तारयेद्वज्रम् ।

पद्मेन चैव व्यूहेन निविशेत् तदा^४ स्वयम् ॥

सेनापतिबलाध्यक्षौ सर्वदिक्षु निवेशयेत् ।

यतश्च भयमाशङ्केत्प्राचीं तां कल्पयेद्दिशम् ॥

गुल्मांश्च स्थापयेदाप्तान् कृतसंज्ञान् समन्ततः ।

स्थाने युद्धे च कुशलानभौरूनविकारिणः ॥

संहतान् योधयेदन्यान् कामं विस्तारयेद्वह्नम् ।

सूच्या वज्रेण चैवैतान् व्यूह्य व्यूहेन योधयेत् ॥

दण्डशकटवराहमकरसूचीगरुडपद्मवज्राकारा व्यूहाः, व्यूहरचना
तु व्यूहमध्ये पद्मव्यूहस्थो राजा अग्रे बलाध्यक्षः व्यूहपश्चात्सेनानौति
तत्पार्श्वयोर्हस्तिनः तत्समीपे व्यूहमध्येऽश्वाः । तत्समीपे व्यूहमध्ये पदातयः
व्यूहस्वरूपं सर्वतो भये सति समविन्यासो दण्डव्यूहः, पृष्ठतो भये सति
सूच्याकाराद्यः शकटव्यूहः, पार्श्वतो भये सति सूक्ष्ममुखः पश्चाद्भाग-
पृथुमध्यो वराहस्तथा एष एव पृथुतरमध्यो गरुडः, वराहविपर्य-
येन मकरः, पश्चादग्रे च भये सति पिपीलिकापङ्क्तिरिव शीघ्रप्रवीर-

१ या० । १ । ३४६ ।

२ या० । सम्यगुणोपेतं ।

३ म० । ७ । १८७-६१ ।

४ म० । “सदा” । इति ।

पुरुषमुखः सूचीव्यूहसोपे भये सति पद्माकारः पद्मव्यूहः, वज्राकारो
वज्रव्यूहः, इमौ सर्वसाधारणौ एतैर्गच्छेदित्यर्थः अत्र यद्विशो भयं
सैव पूर्वा, बलविस्तारोपि तत्रैव । गुल्मान्मैन्यान्तर्गतसैन्यसमूहान्,
कृतसंज्ञान् भेरीपटहादिभेदेन कृतसङ्केतान्, स्थानेऽवस्थाने अल्पानेक-
चौकृत्य वङ्गन् यथेष्टं योधयेत् ।

युद्धक्रममाह^१ ।

स्यन्दनाश्चैस्त्वमे युद्धेदनूपेनौद्विपैस्तथा ।

वृक्षगुल्मावृतेचापैरसिचर्मायुधैः स्थले ॥

घोटकानाह^२ ।

कुरुचेचांश्च मत्स्यांश्च पाञ्चालाञ्कूरसेनजान्^३ ।

दीर्घांलघूंश्चैव नरानगानीकेषु योधयेत् ॥

‘कुरुचेचाद्युपलक्षणमन्यानपौ’ति श्रीकरः ।

भारते^४ ।

अथो^५पथायाच्छकटं वज्रं पद्मञ्च पार्थिवः ।

उग्रना वेद यच्छास्त्रं तत्रैतद्विदितं^६ विभो ॥

वारयित्वा^७ परबलं कृत्वा स्वबलदर्शनम् ।

स्वभूमौ योजयेद्युद्धं परभूमौ तथैव च ॥

बलं प्रसादयेद्राजा निःशिपेद्वह्निनो बलान् ।

कृत्वा^८ स्वविषयं तत्र सामादिभिरुपक्रमेत् ॥

सर्वथैव महाराज शरौरं धारयेदिह ॥

१ म० । ७ । १६२ ।

२ म० । ७ । १६३ ।

३ कूरसेन० इति पुस्तकत्रये । ४ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ७ । १५-१८ ।

५ म० भा० । अथोपपत्त्या । इति । ६ म० भा० । विहितमिति ।

७ म० भा० । वारयित्वा इति । ८ म० भा० । ज्ञात्वा इति ।

मनुः^१ ।

प्रहर्षयेद्वलं व्यूह्य तांश्च सम्यक् परीक्षयेत् ।

चेष्टांश्चैव विजानीयादरीन्योध्यतामपि ॥

प्रहर्षयेत्—जये तु यशोभूत्यादिलाभः, संग्राममरणे तु यशोदिव्य-
खर्गलाभोत्तमसुखानि, पलायने ऽर्थहानिः अक्रोत्तिः नरकदुःखानि
रणादपक्रान्तस्यापि काले मरणमवश्यमेवेत्यादि सप्रमाणवाक्यैः ।
'भेर्यादिभिरपी'ति पल्लवः । बलमत्र सैन्यादि^२परं 'बलमत्रषड्विध-
मिभादेरपि हर्षेण जयसंपत्ते'रिति लक्ष्मीधरः । दृष्टतया किमनिष्ट-
तया इच्छया किमनिच्छया युध्यत इति ज्ञापकेङ्गितादिरूपा चेष्टा ।

^३उपबृह्यारिमासीत राष्ट्रं चास्योपपीडयेत् ।

दूषयेच्चास्य सततं यवसान्नोदकेन्वनम् ॥

भिन्द्याच्चैव तडागानि प्राकारं परिखास्तथा ।

समवस्कन्दयेच्चैनं रात्रौ विचासयेत्तथा ॥

उपजप्यानुजपेद्बुद्धेच्चैव^४ च तत्कृतम् ।

युक्ते च देवे युद्धेन जयप्रेप्सुरपेतभीः ।

उपजपेत् भेदयेत् ।

विजयोत्तरकृत्यमाह स एव^५ ।

जित्वा संपूजयेद्देवान् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिकान् ।

प्रदद्यात्परिहारांश्च ख्यापयेदभयानि च ॥

१ म० । ७ । १६४ ।

२ (ख) (ग) योः । सेनान्यादिपरमिति

३ म० । ७ । १६५-७ ।

४ युद्धेदिति पुस्तकत्रये ।

५ म० । ७ । २०९-२ ।

सर्वेषान्तु विदित्वैषां समासेन चिकीर्षितम् ।

स्थापयेत्तत्र तदंशं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥

सर्वेषामरिमन्त्रिणां चिकीर्षितमभिप्रायं, तदंशं निहतशत्रुवंशं
स्थापयेद्राज्येऽभिषेचयेत्, समयक्रियामिदं त्वया कर्त्तव्यमिति व्यव-
स्थाम् । विष्णुः ।

“अरावाप्तौ तदंशमभिषिञ्चेत्^१” ॥

अत्र बलायुधादिशिखादि^२ विस्तरभयान्नोक्तम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतोत्र बलतरङ्गः ॥

१ विष्णुस्मृतौ तु (३।४७) “राजा परंपुराव्यप्तौ तु तत्र तत्कालीन-
मभिषिञ्चेत् ।”

२ (ग) । बलायुधादि विस्तर० । इति ।

अथ सेनानी ॥ (C. X.)

मनुः^१ ।

अमात्ये दण्ड आयत्तो दण्डे वैनयिकौ क्रिया ।

नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे च दूते सन्धिविपर्ययौ ॥

अमात्यः सेनानी, दण्डो हस्त्यश्वरथपदातादिः^२ ।

भारते ।

सेनाप्रणेता च भवेत्तावता तु वृद्धव्रत^३ ।

शूरः क्षेमसहस्रैव हितो भक्तश्च पूरुषः ॥

राजनीतौ^४ ।

पितृपैतामहो^५ वंश्यस्संहतो दत्तवेतनः ।

प्रख्यातपौरुषो जन्यः कुशलः कुशलैर्वृतः ॥

नानाप्रहरणोपेतो नानायुद्धविशारदः ।

नानाबोध^६ समाकीर्णो नीराजितहयद्विपः ॥

१ म० । ७ । ६५ ।

२ नैषोऽर्थः समीचीनः । “अमात्ये मन्त्रिणि दण्ड आयत्तः अधीन”

इति रामचन्द्रः । “अमात्यः सर्वकार्यनिर्वाहक” इति नन्दनः ।

दण्डः शासनम्, यथा दण्डनीतिप्रदे । पदात्यादिरिति युक्तम् ।

३ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ५ । ३८ । “तव तात वृद्धव्रतः” । इति भारते ॥

४ कामन्दकः । ४ । ६३-६५ । ५ का० । वश्यः । इति ।

६ का० । विख्या० । इति । ७ का० । ०यौध० । इति ।

१ प्रवासायामदुःखेषु युद्धेषु च कृतश्रमः ।

अद्वैधः^१ चञ्चियप्राचो दण्डो दण्डविदां मतः ॥

पितुरथं^२ पितामहस्यायमिति पितृपैतामहो, वंशः संबन्धी,
संहतोऽपेक्षितः, दण्डोऽत्र^३ सेनापतिर्विवक्षितः प्राशुक्तावुक्तविशेषणा-
संभवात् न च पदातो सक्षवो नौराजितहयद्विपत्वाभावात् ।

४ नद्यद्रिवनदुर्गेषु यत्र यत्र भयं नृप^४ ।

तत्र तत्र च सेनानीर्यायाद्^५ व्यूहीकृतैर्वलैः ॥

पार्श्वयोरुभयोरश्वा अश्वानां पार्श्वतो रथाः ।

रथानां पार्श्वतो नागा नागानाञ्च पदातयः^६ ॥

पश्चात्सेनापतिर्यायात्सेनामाश्रासयञ्छनैः ।

मनुः^७ ।

आह्वेषु मिथोऽन्योन्यं जिघांसन्तो महीक्षितः ।

युध्यमानाः परं शक्त्वा स्वर्गं यान्त्यपराङ्मुखाः ॥

न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्याद्युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् ।

न कर्णिभिर्नापि दिग्धैर्नाग्निज्वलिततेजनैः ॥

१ (ख) । “पुरा यायामदुःखेषु” ।

२ अ० का० । ‘अद्वैधः’ ॥ मै० का० । ‘अद्वैधः’ ।

३ (क) । (ग) । पैतामहस्य० ।

४ दण्डोऽत्र सेनायाम् । ५ का० । १६ । ४४ । ४६ । ४७ ।

६ का० । भवेत् । सेनापतिस्तत्रतत्र गच्छेद्० । इति ।

७ का० । “नागानाञ्चाटवीबलम् । पश्चात्सेनापतिस्सर्वं पुरस्कृत्य कृतो
स्वयं, यायात्सन्नद्धसैन्यौघः खिन्नानाश्रासयञ्छनैः ।”

८ म० । ७ । ८६-८५ ।

न च हन्यात्स्थलारूढं न क्लीबं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।

न सुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीतिवादिनम् ॥

न सुप्तं न विस्वाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।

नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥

न युद्ध^१व्यसनप्राप्तं नातं नातिपरीक्षितम्^२ ।

न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥

यस्तु भीतः परावृत्तः संग्रामे हन्यते परैः ।

भर्तृयुद्धकृतं किञ्चित्तत्सर्वं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

यच्चास्य सुकृतं किञ्चिदमुचार्थमुपार्जितम् ।

भर्ता च तत्समादत्ते परावृत्तहतस्य तु ॥

अत्र महौचित उपलक्षणम् । सेनान्यादौनामप्येष एव धर्मः ।

“एषोऽनुपसृतः प्रोक्तो योधधर्मस्सनातन” इत्युपसंहारात् । इद-
मदृष्टार्थं प्रसङ्गादुक्तम् ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतस्सेनानीतरङ्गः ॥

१ नायुधव्यसन० । इति मानवपाठान्तरम् ।

२ म० । नातिपरिचितम् । इति ।

३ म० । ७। ६८ ।

अथ दूतादिः ॥ (C. XI.)

मनुः^१ ।

दूतश्चैव प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम् ।

दङ्गिताकारचेष्टज्ञं शुचिं दक्षं कुलोद्भूतम् ॥

अनुरक्तः शुचिर्दक्षः स्मृतिमान्देशकालवित् ।

वपुश्चान् वीतभीर्वाग्मी दूतो राज्ञः प्रशस्यते ॥

दूत एव हि सन्धत्ते भिनत्त्येव च संहतान् ।

दूतस्तत्कुर्वते कर्म्म भिद्यन्ते येन मानवाः^२ ॥

स विद्यादस्य कृत्येषु निगूढेऽङ्गितचेष्टितैः ।

आकारमिङ्गितं चेष्टा^३ मृत्येषु च चिकीर्षितम् ॥

लब्ध्वा च सर्वं तत्त्वेन परराजचिकीर्षितम् ।

तथा प्रयत्नमातिष्ठेद्यथात्मानं न पीडयेत् ॥

दूतदारेण लब्ध्वा राजेति शेषः । दूतस्यावध्यत्वमाह नीतौ युक्तः ।

दूतो स्नेच्छोऽप्यवध्यः स्याद्राजा दूतमुखो यतः ।

उद्यतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु दूतो वदति नान्यथा ॥

तथा ।

स्वापकर्षं परोत्कर्षं दूतोक्तैर्मन्यते च कः ।

सदैवाराध्यभावेन दूतस्सर्वं हि जल्पति ॥

१ म० । ७ । ६३-६८ ।

२ (क) (ग) । वा नराः ।

३ म० । चेष्टामिति ।

प्रतीहारकार्यमाह ।

१विश्वस्तांस्तान्विचिन्वीरन् १दास्याः पचान्तरं २गतान् ।

ते शस्त्रवाहकाः ३ ब्रूयुः प्रयुक्ताः स्म इति स्फुटम् ।

विश्वस्तान् यद्गमनेन न स्वामिभयार्दितान् [० भयार्तिस्तान् ?]

पचान्तरं ४गतान् प्रत्यर्थिपक्षोपगतान्, विचिन्वीरन् एकमन्तर्गमयेद्युक्ते क
दारेऽवहन्ति ते चास्त्रिन्वये वयं नियुक्ता इति ब्रूयुः समागतसज्जन-
म[१]ना ५चेत्यभिप्रायः ।

मित्रमाह मनुः ६ ।

हिरण्यभूमिसंप्राप्त्या पार्थिवो न तथैधते ।

यथा मित्रं ध्रुवं लब्ध्वा ७कृशमप्यायति चमम् ॥

धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च तुष्टप्रकृतिमेव च ।

अनुरक्तं स्थिरारम्भं लघुमित्रं प्रशस्यते ॥

नीतौ ८ ।

य एनमुत्पद्यगतं वारयन्ति निवारिताः ।

मज्जमानं ९मकार्येषु सुहृदो वारयन्ति हि ॥

१ का० । ६ । १२ ।

२ इति मै० का० पुस्तकेऽपि । अ० का० । 'विश्वस्ता विचिन्वीयुः' ।

३ का० । 'कक्ष्यान्तरागतान्' । ४ (ख) । (ग) । 'पचान्तरं गतान्' ।

४ ग्राहका इति मै० का० । ० ग्राहिण इति अ० का० ।

५ (क) । ० गमनाय । ६ म० । ७ । २०-८ ।

७ भृशं इति पुस्तकत्रयेषु । ८ कामन्दकः । ४ । ४२-६ ।

९ का० । सज्जमान० ।

सत्यं न ते हि सुहृदो गुरवो गुरवो हि ते ।

पश्यन्नपि भवत्यन्धो यस्माद्रागावृतः पुमान् ॥

सुहृद्वैद्याश्चिकित्सन्ति निर्मलैर्विनयाञ्जनेः ।

कृतविद्योपि बलिना रक्तो^१ रागेण रज्यते ॥

रागोपरक्तचित्तस्तन्न किं कुर्यादसांप्रतम् ।

राग-मान-मदान्धस्य स्वकृतः पृथिवीपतेः ॥

हस्तावलम्बो भवति सुहृत्सचिवचेष्टितम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः^४ ।

हिरण्यभूमिलाभेभ्यो मित्रलब्धिर्वरायते^५ ।

अतो यतेत तत्प्राप्त्यै रचेत्सत्यं समाहितम् ॥

नन्वनयगामिनृपवारणे प्राणसन्देहस्तदा कथं निवारित इति
सत्यमेतत्परन्तु श्रुतिसृष्ट्यादौ नित्यत्वाद्धर्मस्यैव निरूपेक्षितत्वात्^६
लोकेऽपि वाच्यत्वप्रसङ्गाच्च । तदाह^७

मदोन्नतस्य^८ नृपतेः संकीर्णस्यैव दन्तिनः ।

गच्छन्त्यन्यायवृत्तस्य नेतारः खलु वाच्यताम् ॥

१ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० पाठः (४३, ४५) व्यत्यस्तः ।

२ का० । 'वृतेक्षणाः' ।

३ का० । 'व्यक्तम्' ।

४ या० । १ । ३५० ।

५ या० । 'वरा यतः' ।

६ (क) । 'निरूपेक्षितत्वात्' ।

७ का० । ४ । ४७ । मदोन्नतस्येति ।

मित्रपरीक्षा ।

^१त्यागविज्ञानमन्त्राब्जं^२ महापत्रं प्रियंवदम् ।

आयतिष्ठममद्वेयं मित्रं कुर्वीत सत्कुलम् ॥

सत्कुलं कुलीनं तत एव मैत्री निर्वहतीतियुक्तिः ।

^३दूरादेवाभिगमनं स्पष्टार्थहृदयानुगा ।

वाक् सत्कृत्य प्रदानञ्च त्रिविधो मित्रसंग्रहः ॥

अभिगमनमभ्युत्थानं, स्पष्टार्थहृदयानुगा अच्छद्ममधुरा वाणी,
सत्कृत्यदानमिष्टकरणमिति त्रिविधो मैत्रीरक्षणोपायः ।

^४धर्मार्थकामसंयोगो मित्राच्च त्रिविधं फलम् ।

यस्मिन्^५ एतत्तयन्नास्ति तन्न सेवेत पण्डितः ॥

औरसं कृतसम्बन्धं तथा वंशक्रमागतम् ।

रचितं व्यसनेभ्यश्च मित्रं ज्ञेयं चतुर्विधम् ॥

औरसमित्रं जन्मना सम्बन्धि कृतसम्बन्धं पाणिग्रहणादिना सम्बन्धि,
वंशक्रमागतं पित्रादिमित्रं, व्यसनेभ्यः कष्टेभ्यः रचितं चतुर्विधमिदं
मित्रमिति । न औरसपदेन पुत्रो, मातापितृभ्रातृबान्धवादीनां^६
तथात्वात् ।

^७शुचिता त्यागिता शौर्यं समानसुखदुःखता ।

अनुरागश्च दाक्ष्यञ्च सत्यता च सुहृद्गुणाः ॥

१ का० । ४ । ६६ । योगविज्ञान इति मै० का० ।

२ का० । 'सत्वाब्जम्' ।

३ का० । ४ । ६६ ।

४ का० । ४ । ७०-७१ ।

५ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'यस्मात्' ।

६ मातृ० भ्रातृ० इति पठनीयम् । ७ का० । ४ । ७२ ।

यद्यपि सर्व एवैते मित्रगुणास्तथापि समावेष्टात्संचिप्याह ।

^१तदर्थेहानुरागस्य संचिपं मित्रलक्षणम् ।

यस्मिन्नेतद्वि तन्मित्रं तत्रात्मानं विनिःक्षिपेत्^२ ॥

तदर्थेहा तदिष्टसृहा । इदं सामान्यं, विशेषो मण्डलकथने ॥

[चाराः ।] मनुः^३ ।

उपगृह्यास्यदञ्चैव चारान्सम्यग्विधाय च ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

^४चारान् पश्येत्ततोदूतान् प्रेषयेन्मन्त्रिसङ्गतः ।

महाभारते^५ ।

चारैर्विदित्वा शत्रूंश्च ये राज्ञामन्तरैषिणः ।

तानाप्तः^६ पुरुषैर्दूराद्वातयेथा नरर्षभ ॥

प्रकृतीनाञ्च राजेन्द्र चाराणां^७ च विभावयेत् ।

क्रमेण युगपत्सर्वं व्यवसायं महा[बला]बलम् ॥

बलाबलादिज्ञानार्थं प्रथमं चारान् पश्येत्ततोदूतानित्यर्थः ।

चारान् गूढान् गूढपुरुषान् दूतान् परस्परं वृत्तसूचकान् ।

१ का० । ४ । ७३ ।

२ का० । 'यस्मिन्ने० न निक्षिपेत्' ।

३ म० । ७ । १८४ ।

४ या० । १ । ३२७ । पश्येच्चारांस्ततोदूतानिति या० ।

५ म० भा० । आश्रम० । ५ । ३६ ॥ ६ । १३ ।

६ म० भा० । ० आत्मेः । इति ।

७ म० भा० । राजादीनामिति [राजादीनानिति, वा (कु० म० भा०)] ।

राजनौतौ^१ ।

प्रख्यातवंश^२मक्रूरं लोकसङ्गाहिणं शुचिम् ।

कुर्वीतात्महिताकाङ्क्षी परिवारं महीपतिः ॥

^३क्रूरोऽपि भाग्यतामेतिपरिवारगुणैर्नृपः ।

प्रख्यातवंशं कुलीनं लोकसङ्गाहिणं सापेक्षं परिवारं सेवकम् ।
स परिवारकृत्यमाह^४ ।

वृत्तस्थं वृत्तसंपन्नाः कल्पवृक्षोपमं नृपम् ।

उपगम्य^५ गुणैर्युक्तं सेवेरन्ननुजीविनः ॥

द्रव्यप्रकृतिहीनोपि सेव्यः सेव्यगुणान्वितः^६ ।

भवत्याजीवनं तस्मात् स्नाथं कालान्तरादपि ॥

अनात्मवान्नयद्वेषी वर्धयन्नरिसम्यदः ।

प्राप्यापि महदैश्वर्यं सह तेन विपद्यते^७ ॥

अनात्मवान्नयः नयद्वेषी नीतिनिन्दकः रिपुसंपदङ्गको न सेव्य
इत्याशयः ।

^८तत्क्षिप्रं नापकुर्वीत ^९न लोकद्वेषमाचरेत् ।

स्वामितो दुःखितोपि स्वामिनो नापकारं कुर्यात् न परद्वेष-
माचरेत् वृथेति शेषः ।

१ का० । ४ । १०-११ । २ मै० का० । 'वर्त्म' ।

३ मै० का० । 'क्रूरोऽपि सेव्यता०' । आ० का० । 'दुष्टोऽपि'
[क्रूरोऽपि वा] भोग्यता० । ४ का० । ५ । १-२ । ४ ।

५ का० । 'अभिगम्य०' । ६ मै० का० । 'गुणैर्युतः' ।

७ का० । विनश्यति । इति पाठान्तरम् । ८ का० । ५ । ६ ।

९ का० । 'तत् क्षिप्रं नापि' ॥ मै० का० । 'अपि मेधावी' ।

१ क्लिश्यन्नपि हि मेधावी शुद्धं जीवनमाचरेत् ।

तेनेह स्नाय्यतामेति लोकेभ्यस्तु न हीयते ॥

आरिराधयिषुस्तम्यगनुजीवी महीभुजम् ।

विद्याविनयश्रित्याद्यैरात्मानमुपपादयेत् ॥

कुलविद्याश्रुतौदार्यशिल्पविक्रमधैर्यवान् ।

वपुस्तत्त्वबलारोग्यसत्य^१शौचदयान्वितः ॥

यैश्चन्द्रोद्गसंभेदशाचमौक्ता^२नृतातिगः ।

^३दम्भचापल्यहीनश्च सेवनं कर्तुमर्हति ॥

सम्भेदोऽत्र कलिकर्म ।

^४दक्षता भद्रता दार्ढ्यं चान्तिः^५क्लेशसहिष्णुता ।

सन्तोषः शीलमुत्साहो मण्डयन्त्यनुजीविनम् ॥

दत्तद्यौ प्रधानगुणाः ।

^६परस्थानासनं क्रौर्यमौद्धत्यं मत्सरं त्यजेत् ।

विसृज्य कथनञ्चैव न कुर्याज्जायया^७ सह ॥

राजवेश्मनि एकान्ते कथनं स्त्रिया सह न कुर्यात् जायया

राजजाययेति । “राजानं विसृज्य न कुर्यादि”ति पञ्चवः ।

१ का० । ५ । ६ । १२-१४ ।

२ का० । स्त्रैर्यशौच० ।

३ का० । लौल्य० ।

४ का० । स्तम्भचापल० ।

५ का० । ५ । १५ ।

६ का० । ५ । १८ ।

७ का० । ‘जयसा’ ।

१विप्रलम्भं च मायां च दम्भं स्तेयं च वर्जयेत् ।
स्तेयं विवर्जयेत् । यद्यपि सर्वनिषेधस्तथापि राजवेष्मनि सन्नि-
हितभयादत्र विशेषतो निषेध इत्याशयः ।

२न नर्म्मसच्चिवैः सार्धं किञ्चिदप्यप्रियं वदेत् ।
तेऽस्य मर्म्माणि हन्तन्ति^३ प्रहासेनैव संसदि ॥
नर्म्मसु सच्चिवैर्नर्म्मसच्चिवैः परिहासादिचतुरैः, कटुनादिभिरिति
पक्षवः । प्रियाद्भिन्नमप्रियं साभिप्रायार्थवचनमिति यावत् मर्म्मा-
ण्याशयानि । तथा च तैः सभायां तद्वचनप्रहासेन तदुच्छेद इत्यर्थः ।

४भर्तृरर्धासने^४ दृष्टिं मुहुर्नान्यत्र कारयेत् ।

न ब्रूयात्किञ्चिदन्योन्यं तिष्ठेदास्यं विलोकयन् ॥

कोऽचेत्यहमिति ब्रूयात्सम्यगादेशयेति^५ च ।

आज्ञां न वितयां कुर्याद्यथाशक्त्यविलम्बितः^६ ॥

उच्चैःप्रकथनं हास्यं शौवनं कुत्सनं तथा ।

जृम्भणं गात्रभङ्गं च पर्वस्फोटं विवर्जयेत् ॥

अर्धासने पुरोभागाधार्धाने अन्योन्यं सेवकेन सह न ब्रूयात् ।
शौवनं मुखनिर्गतजलविन्दुविशेषम् । जृम्भणं मुखव्यायक्रियाविशेषं,
गात्रभङ्गं गात्रकौटिल्यक्रियाविशेषं पर्वस्फोटमङ्गुलीपर्वस्फोटनम् ।

१ का० । ५ । १६ ।

२ का० । ५ । २० ।

३ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'अभिघ्नन्ति' ।

४ का० । ५ । २१-२३ ।

५ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० । का० । अन्वासितः ।

६ का० । 'आज्ञापयेति' ।

७ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । 'अविलम्बितम्' ।

१ समर्थयश्च तत्पत्रं माधु भाषेत२ भाषितम् ।

तत्पत्रं प्रभुपत्रम् ।

३ विजानन्नपि न ब्रूयाद्भर्तुः क्षिप्तोत्तरं वचः ।

प्रवीणोऽपि हि मेधावी वर्जयेदभिमानिताम् ॥

क्षिप्तोत्तरम् परित्यक्तोत्तरम् ।

४ यदप्युच्चैर्विजानीयान्नीचैस्तदपि कीर्तयेत् ।

कर्मणा तस्य वैशिष्ट्यं कथयेद्विनयान्वितः ॥

प्रबलतरमपि वचनं शृदु कीर्तयेत् कर्मणा सोपन्यासेन ।

५ आपद्युन्मार्गगमने कार्यत्यागात्ययेषु ६ च ।

७ तन्नियोगेन तु ब्रूयादर्थं सुपरिनिष्ठितम् ८ ॥

अत्र तदभिप्रेतं ब्रूयात् । इदं तु कार्यसिद्धौ मञ्जमानमकार्य-
स्वित्यादिवचनात् ।

सुखप्रसन्नगोष्ठीषु ९ वादिषु वादिनां मतम् ।

१० अष्टयोऽपि हितान्वेषी ब्रूयात्कल्याणभाषितम् ॥

१ का० । ५ । २४ ।

२ पुस्तकत्रये 'भाषित' ।

३ का० । ५ । २६ ।

४ का० । ५ । २७ ।

५ का० । ५ । २८ ।

६ का० । 'कार्यकालात्ययेषु' ।

७ का० । ५ । २५ । एषः श्लोकानुक्रमः (अ० का० २६, २६, २८,
२५) मै० कामन्दकीयेऽपि । व्यत्यासः अ० कामन्दकीये ।

८ का० । सुपरिनिष्ठितम् । इति पाठान्तरम् ।

९ का० । सुखप्रसन्न० ।

१० का० । ५ । २८ ।

१ गुह्यं कर्म च मन्त्रं च न भर्तुः संप्रकाशयेत् ।

विदेषं च विनाशं च० मनसापि न चिन्तयेत् ॥

स्त्रीभिस्तद्दर्शिभिः पापैर्वैरिभूतैर्निराकृतैः ।

एकार्थचर्यां संवासं संसर्गं च विवर्जयेत् ।

देशभावात्कुकरणं न कुर्यात्पृथिवीपतेः ॥

सम्यक्नोऽपि हि मेधावी स्पृह्येत न च तद्गुणैः ।

रागानुरागौ५ जानीयाद्भर्तुः कुशलकर्मकृत् ॥

इङ्गिताकारतत्त्वाद्यैर्इङ्गिताकारतत्त्ववित् ।

दृष्ट्वा प्रसन्नो भवति वाक्यं गृह्णाति चादरात् ॥

स्वामिनो मय्यनुरक्तिर्नवेति विज्ञापयेत् (?) । मय्यनुरक्तविरक्तस्य

स्वरूपमाह ।

७ दिशत्यासनमभ्याशे कुशलं परिपृच्छति ।

विविक्तदर्शने८ स्थाने रहस्यं च० न शङ्कते ॥

तदर्थान्तर्हतां चोच्चैराकर्णयति सत्कथाम् ।

स्नाघते स्नाघ्यमानेषु स्नाघनीयञ्च नन्दते९ ॥

१ का० । ५ । ३१-३५ ।

२ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि ॥ अ० का० । 'विद्विष्टमपि नाशं च' ।

३ का० । ०दृतैः ।

४ का० । वेशभाषा० ।

५ का० । 'रागापरागौ' । ६ का० । 'इङ्गिताकारलिङ्गाभ्याम्' ।

७ का० । ५ । ३५-३६ ।

८ ०दर्शनमिति पुस्तकत्रये ॥ का० । ०दर्शने । इति । रहस्ये । इति ।

९ का० । 'स्नाघ्यनीयेषु स्नाघ्यमानं च नन्दति' ।

कथारम्भेषु^१ स्मरति प्रहृष्टं^२ कीर्तयेद्गुणान् ।

सहते तथ्यमप्युक्तं^३ न निन्दामनुवर्त्तते^४ ॥

करोति वाक्यं तद्वक्तं^५ तद्वचो^६ वज्रमन्यते ।

उपचारेषु मध्यस्थं^७ दर्शयत्यङ्गुतेषु च^८ ।

तत्कृतं कर्म चान्येन कृतमित्यभिभाषते ॥

रहस्यं न शङ्कते, गोप्यमिदमनेनास्य भेद इति न शङ्कते तदर्थं
तदिष्टां कार्यान्तरेष्वनवसरेषु । अतथ्यमपि तेनोक्तं सहते क्षमते
तत्कृतं कर्मेति अन्यकृतं तत्कृतं भाषते च शब्दादिपरीतं कर्म तेन
कृतमन्यकृतं भाषते अनुरक्तौ ।

‘विपक्षमुत्थापयति विनाशं चाप्युपेक्षते ।

कार्यं संवर्धयत्याशां फले च कुरुतेऽन्यथा ॥

यदाकं मधुरं किञ्चित्तदप्यर्थेन निष्ठुरम् ।

आचरत्यात्मसंस्तु परिवादेन^९ केवलम् ॥

१ का० । ‘कथान्तरेषु’ । २ का० । ‘प्रहृष्टः’ ।

३ इति मै० का० पाठोऽपि । अ० का० । ‘पथ्यमुक्तस्मन्’ ।

४ का० । ‘मन्यते’ ।

५ का० । तस्यैवेति । तद्वक्तमिति अ० का० कामन्दकपाठान्तरम् ।

६ अ० का० । ‘तद्वचः’ । मै० का० । तद्वचः ।

७ का० । ‘उपचारेषु माध्यस्थम्’ ।

८ वृद्धाविति श्लोकार्द्धः (अ० का० ५ । ३९) मैथिलपुस्तके रत्नाकरे च
नास्ति ।

९ का० । ५ । ४०-४७ ।

१० का० । ‘परिवादं च’ ।

अकोपोऽपि हि कोपाभः^१ प्रसन्नोपि हि निष्फलः ।

वदत्यकस्माददति रुचं च मुञ्जरीक्षते^२ ।

^३आवद्वयति मर्माणि सहन्नास्यं प्रपद्यते^४ ॥

संभावयति दोषेण^५ वृत्तिच्छेदं करोति च ।

साधूक्तमपि तदाक्यं समर्थयति चान्यथा ॥

अपर्वणि कथारम्भं^६ करोति विरसीभवन् ।

उपास्यमानः शयने सुप्तलक्षणे तिष्ठति ॥

यत्नेनाराध्यमानोऽपि सुप्तवच्च विचेष्टते ।

इत्यादि चानुरक्तस्य विरक्तस्य तु लक्षणम् ॥

विपचमुत्थापयति सेवकादेः विपचं प्रेरयति कलचे(?)^७ पुन-
र्विनाशमप्युपेक्षते । विनाशस्याप्युपायं न कुरुत इत्यर्थः [I] साधूक्तम-
वश्यकर्तव्यमपि तद्वचनमन्यथा तदा तिरस्कृत्यान्यद्वारेण साधयति ।
अपर्वणौति अपूर्णायां कथायां विरसीभवन् रचीभवत्कथाभङ्गं करोति
कथां क्षिणत्तीत्यर्थः ।

१ अ० का० । 'स कोपाभः' । मै० का० । 'कोपाभः' ।

२ अ० का० । 'हसत्यकस्माद् व्रजति रुचं च समुदीक्षते' ॥ मै०
का० । व्रजत्य० (शेषः यथा रत्नाकरे ।)

३ विज्ञाप्यमान इति श्लोकार्द्धः (अ० का० । ४३ ।) नास्ति म०
पुस्तके रत्नाकरे च ।

४ अ० का० । 'गुणैर्न वज्जमन्यते' । मै० का० । हसन्नास्यं० ।

५ मै० का० । 'दोषं च' ।

६ का० । कथाभङ्गम् । चण्डेश्वरोपि टीकायाम् कथाभङ्गमित्येव
पठति । ७ (ग) कालच (?) ।

१रक्ताद्वृत्तिं समीहेत विरक्तं च विवर्जयेत्^१ ।
 इति अनुरागविरागपरीक्षाफलम् ॥
 २निर्गुणं चापि^२ भर्त्तारमापत्सु न परित्यजेत् ।
 अतः परतरो नास्ति य आपत्सूपतिष्ठते ॥
 विपत्सु^३ धर्मधुर्याणां तेषां नामातिरिच्यते ।
 स्नाय्या चानन्दजननी^४ महतामुपकारिता ॥
 काले कल्याणमाधत्ते स्वल्पापि हि^५ महोदयम् ।
 राजानं येह्युपेक्षन्ते सज्जमानमकर्म्मसु ॥
 ते गच्छन्त्यकृतात्मानस्तद् तेन पराभवम् ।
 भर्त्तुश्चित्तानुवर्त्तित्वं सद्दृष्टमनुजीविनाम् ॥
 अप्रियोऽपि हि पथ्यः स्यादिति वृद्धानुशासनम् ।
 वृद्धानुशासने तिष्ठन् प्रियतामधि^६ गच्छति ।
 अर्थार्थी जीवलोकौऽयं ज्वलन्तमुपसर्षति ।
 क्षीणक्षीरां निराजीव्यां वत्सल्यजति मातरम् ॥

१ का० । ५ । ४७ ।

२ का० । 'परित्यजेत्' ।

३ का० । ५ । ४८-५० । ५३ । ५५ । ५६ । ६२ ।

४ का० । 'ह्यपि' ।

५ इति मै० का० । अ० का०—'विरोधे' ।

६ इति मै० का० । अ० का०—'चानन्दती' ।

७ का० । सु० ।

८ अ० का० । 'सज्जमानं विकर्म्मसु' । मै० का० । 'सज्जमानमवर्त्मसु' ।

९ का० । ० सुप० ।

इदमनुजीविक्त्यम् ॥

अथानुजीविनि राजकृत्यमन्त्रैव^१ ।

^१अपात्रे वर्षणं यत्तन्न न कुर्यात्सिद्धिं विगर्हितम् ।

^२अपात्रे^२ वर्षणादन्यत्किं स्यात्कोषक्षयादृते ॥

वर्षणं जलवर्षणम् (?) इत्यर्थः ।

^३कुलं विद्यां श्रुतं शौर्यं सौशील्यं भूतपूर्वताम् ।

वयोऽवस्थां च संलक्ष्य^४ आद्रियेत महात्मनाम्^५ ॥

^६सुशीलान्नावमन्येत सम्यग् वृत्तान्मनस्विनः ।

त्यजन्ति तेऽवमन्तारं^७ भ्रान्तिं वा मानहेतवे ॥

उत्तमाभिजनोपेतं^८ न नीचैस्सह वर्धयेत् ।

क्षुण्णोपि हि विवेकज्ञो याति^९ संश्रयणीयताम् ॥

उत्तमं नीचवत्सत्कारेण न वर्धयेदित्यर्थः । हि यतः विवेकज्ञ

उत्तमाधमविचारवित् संश्रयणीयतां सेव्यत्वम् ।

१ का० । ५ । ६५ ।

२ का० । 'अपात्रवर्षणं जातु न कुर्यात् सिद्धिगर्हितम्' ।

३ का० । 'अपात्रवर्षणात् किं स्यादन्यत्' ।

४ (ग) । का० । अपात्र० ।

५ का० । ५ । ६६ । ६७ । ६८ ।

६ अ० का० । 'संवीक्ष्य' । मै० का० । 'संप्रेक्ष्य' ।

७ का० । 'स्माद्रियेत महात्मनाः' । ८ का० । 'कुलीनान्' ।

९ अ० का० । 'त्यजन्त्येते हि भर्तारं भ्रान्तिं वा मानहेतवः' । मै०

का० पाठोऽपि यथा रत्नाकरे ।

१० का० । ०पेतान् ।

११ जाति । इति पुस्तकत्रये । यातीत्यत्राध्याहार्यम् ।

लक्ष्म्या लक्ष्मीवतां लोके विकाशिन्यापि किं तथा ।

बन्धुभिश्च सुहृद्भिश्च विश्वासं या न भुज्यते ।

विकाशिन्या विख्यातया सम्पदा किं यदुपभोगो नास्ति बन्धु-
सुहृदादेः ।

१ आयद्वारेषु सर्वेषु कुर्यादाप्तान् परौचितान् ।

आददौत फलं तेभ्यो^२ भास्वानुसैरिवोदकम् ॥

अभ्यस्तकर्म्मणस्तज्ज्ञानं शुचींस्तत्त्वार्थकोविदान्^३ ।

कुर्यादुद्योगसंपन्नानध्यक्षान् सर्वकर्म्मसु ॥

यो यद्वस्त्वभिजानाति^४ तत्र तं विनियोजयेत् ।

५ विशेषविषयप्राप्ताविन्द्रियार्थेष्विवेन्द्रियम् ॥

कोषागारेभियुक्तः स्यात्तदायत्तं हि जीवितम् ।

आयद्वारेषु धनागमद्वारेषु, आददौत गृह्णीयात् । उच्चैः किरणैः ।

सर्वकर्म्मसु कथितलक्षणाभियोज्य कोषागारेऽतियत्नशीलो भवेत् ।

तदाह^६ ।

नान्यायं च^७ व्ययं कुर्यात्प्रत्यवेक्षेत चान्वहम् ।

इति यत्नरूपम् ।

१ का० । ५ । ७२ ।

२ का० । 'विसृज्यम्' ।

३ का० । ५ । ७३-७६ ।

४ अ० का० । 'आददौत धनं तैस्तु' ॥ म० का० । 'फलं तैस्तु' ।

५ अ० का० । 'शुद्धार्यसङ्गतान्' । मै० का० । 'शुद्धार्यसम्मतान्' ।

६ का० । विजानाति ।

७ का० । अपोष० ।

८ का० । ५ । ७६ ।

९ का० । 'नात्यायं च' ।

‘अल्पमप्यपकुर्वन्ति चे पापाः पृथिवीपतेः^१ ।

अग्नौ पतङ्गा इव ते दह्यन्ते मूढचेतसः ॥

इत्यादि नीतिशास्त्रेषु वज्रविततम् । तत्सर्वसारमाह
कामन्दकः^२ ।

संचेषो नीतिशास्त्राणामविश्वासः परो मतः ।

राज्ञस्तस्मादविश्वासः केवलं हितमात्मनः ॥

‘दृढस्य तेरविश्वासः इति शास्त्रस्य^३ निश्चयः ।

इदं वाचस्पत्यादि । यान्नवल्लयः^४ ।

चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।

पौड्यमानाः प्रजा रचेत्कायस्यैस्तु विशेषतः ॥

चाटः प्रतारकः, तस्करा अत्र विश्वासेन धनहारिणः । दुर्वृत्ता
कितवः, महासाहसिकाः स्वार्थमध्यकारिणः । कायस्था लेखकाः,
गणकाश्च विशेषत इति तेषां राजवल्लभतया मायावितया दुर्नि-
वारत्वात् । नन्वनुजीव्याद्यविश्वास एव तदा सन्दिग्धार्थनिश्चयो
न स्यात्तन्नातिविश्वसेदित्यादि वाक्यान्तस्यातिविश्वासाभावपरत्वात् ॥
तथा च राजा परविश्वासेन न समो भवेदित्यर्थः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो दूतादितरङ्गः ॥

१ का० । ५ । ८५ । २ का० । ‘खल्य पृथिवीपतौ
ते वज्राविव दह्यन्ते पतङ्गा मूढचेतसः’ ॥

३ अनन्तशयन—(Trivandrum) संस्कृतग्रन्थावलेः कामन्दकीयनीति-
सारे नोपलभ्यत एष श्लोकः । हस्तलिखितपुस्तके तु प्राप्यत एव ।

४ का० । ५ । ८८ । ५ अ० का० । ‘शास्त्रार्थनिश्चयः ।
मै० का० । ‘शास्त्रविनिश्चयः’ । ६ या० । १ । ३३४ ।

अथ साधारणपालनादि राजकृत्यम् ॥ (C. XII.)

मनुः^१ ।

संयामेव्यनिवर्त्तित्वं प्रजानां चैव पालनम् ।
शुश्रूषा ब्राह्मणानां च राज्ञां श्रेयस्करं परम् ॥
चन्निचस्य परो धर्मः प्रजानामेव पालनम् ।
निर्दिष्टफलभोक्ता हि राजा धर्मेण युज्यते ॥

यान्नवत्क्यः^२ ।

पुण्यात्षड्भागमादत्ते न्यायेन परिपालयन् ।
सर्वदानाधिकं यस्मात्प्रजानां परिपालनम् ॥

मनुः^३ ।

आत्मानं सततं रचेद्दरैरपि धनेरपीति ।
प्रसङ्गात्प्रागुक्तम् । यथार्थशास्त्रेऽपि^४ ।
प्रजां संरक्षति नृपः सा वर्धयति तं नृपम् ।
वर्धनाद्भक्षणं श्रेयस्तन्नाशे हि^५ तदप्यसत् ॥
न्यायप्रवृत्तो नृपतिरात्मानमथ च प्रजाः ।
त्रिवर्गेणाभिसन्धत्ते निहन्ति ध्रुवमन्यथा ॥

षड्भागमुपलक्षणं, यावता प्रजानां पीडा न ह्यन्तावदेव प्रजा-
पालनस्यावश्यकत्वात् । यद्यप्यर्थशास्त्रे 'त्रिवर्गेणाभिसन्धत्ते' इत्यनेन
पुरुषार्थेषु प्रथमोपात्तत्वात् 'आत्मानं सततं रचेद्दि'त्यादिना च याव-

१ म० । ७ । ८८ । १४४ ।

२ या० । १ । ३३५ ।

३ म० । ७ । २१३ ।

४ का० । १ । १४-१५ ।

५ मै० का० 'तु' । अ० का० । 'ऽन्यत्' । ई का० । ७५० ।

दायुःपरिपालनं तावदिति वक्तुमुचितम् । तथापि प्रजापालनस्योभय-
लोकेषु साधनत्वात् प्रजापालनमेव प्रथमतः कार्यमत एव नारदः^१ ।

यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।

अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्तुज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥

यान्नवल्लयः^२ ।

कृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः ।

अर्थशास्त्रात् बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्थितिः ॥

विप्रतिपत्तिर्विरोधः । इदमुभयोर्निर्वकाशत्वेऽन्यथासिद्धमेव तस्यै-
वोक्तत्वात् । तथा च प्रजापालनं स्वरक्षणं रणानिवर्त्तित्वं ब्राह्मणशू-
षेति राज्ञामसाधारणो धर्म इति प्राञ्चः । नव्यात् प्रथमत
आत्मरक्षणं दृष्टमुख्यफलकत्वात् । 'सर्वत आत्मानं गोपायित' इति
श्रुतेः एव स्पष्टमाह मनुः^३ ।

एवं सर्वं विधायेदमिति कर्त्तव्यमात्मनः ।

युक्तस्यैवाप्रमत्तस्य परिरुद्धेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

एवमुक्तप्रकारेण सर्वमात्मनः कार्यजातं संपाद्य युक्तः प्रमादरहित
आत्मौघाः प्रजा रक्षेदिति मन्वर्थ इति [?] । मनुः^४ ।

तान् सर्वानभिसन्दध्यात्मा मादिभिरुपक्रमैः ।

व्यस्तैश्चैव समस्तैश्च पौरुषेण नयेन च ॥

तान् वक्ष्यमाणनृपतीन् उपक्रमैरुपायैः, पौरुषेण प्रतापादिना
नयेन नीतिशास्त्रोक्तेन ।

१ ना० । १ । ३६ ।

२ या० । २ । २१ ।

३ म० । ७ । १४२ ।

४ म० । ७ । १५६ ।

१सन्धिं च विग्रहं चैव यानमासनमेव च ।

द्वैधीभावं संश्रयं च षड्गुणं चिन्तयेत्सदा ॥

सन्धिसेकीभवननिबन्धं, विग्रहमपकारं, शत्रुं प्रति गमनं यानम्,
उपेक्षणमासनं, बलस्य द्विधाकरणं द्वैधीभावं, प्रबलनृपाश्रयं संश्रयः,
शत्रुतः प्रधानैरेतैरूपायैः गुणैश्चात्मरक्षेत्यर्थः । अत एव सदा चिन्तये-
दिति । उपायानाह याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ ।

उपायाः साम दानं भेदो दण्डस्तथैव च ।

सम्यक् प्रयुक्ताः सिध्येयुर्दण्डस्त्वगतिका गतिः ॥

साम प्रियभाषणं, दानं सुवर्णादिः, भेदो भेदनं, वधपर्यन्तो-
ऽपकारो दण्डः । पुनः स एवाह^२ ।

सन्धिं च विग्रहं यानमासनं संश्रयं तथा ।

द्वैधीभावं गुणानेतान्यथावत्परिपालयेत्^३ ॥

अमीषां कालानाह मनुः^४ ।

यदावगच्छेदायत्यामाधिक्यं ध्रुवमात्मनः ।

तदात्वे चाल्पिकां पीडां तदा सन्धिं समाश्रयेत् ॥

यदा प्रकृष्टा मन्येत सर्वास्तु प्रकृतीर्भृशम् ।

अत्युच्छ्रितं तथात्मानं तदा कुर्वीत विग्रहम् ॥

यदा मन्येत भावेन हृष्टं पुष्टं बलं स्वकम् ।

परस्य विपरीतं च तदा यायाद्रिपुं प्रति ॥

१ म० । १ । १६० । २ या० । १ । ३४४ । ३ या० । १ । ३४५ ।

४ या० । 'परिकल्पयेत्' । ५ म० । ७ । १६६-१७४ ।

यदा तु स्थात्परिचीणो वाहनेन बलेन च ।
 तदासीत प्रयत्नेन शनैः सान्त्वयन्नरीन्^१ ॥
 मन्येतारिं यदा राजा सर्वथा बलवत्तरम् ।
 तदा द्विधा बलं कृत्वा साधयेत्कार्यमात्मनः ॥
 यदा परबलानां तु गमनीयतमो भवेत् ।
 तदा तु संश्रयेत्क्षिप्रं धार्मिकं बलिनं नृपम् ॥
 आयत्यासुत्तरकाले, तदात्रे तत्काले, गमनीयतमोऽतिशयेन
 ग्राह्यो, निजप्रकृतिदोषादिना राजेतिशेषः ॥
 तत्सेवनप्रकारमाह^२ ।

निग्रहं प्रकृतीनां च कुर्याद्योऽरिवलस्य च ।
 उपसेवेत तच्चित्त्यं सर्वयत्नैर्गुह्यथा^३ ।
 संश्रयतो वैगुण्ये ।

“यदि तत्रापि संपश्येद्दोषं संश्रयकारितम् ।
 सुयुद्धमपि तत्रापि निर्विशङ्कः^४ समाचरेत् ।
 यद्येवं केनाप्युपायेनात्मरक्षा न स्यात्तदा चत्रियाणां युद्धमेवाश्रय
 इति निर्विशङ्कः । ननु सेवा श्ववृत्तिरयशस्करी “धर्माद्धि युद्धा-
 च्छ्रेयोऽन्यत्सचिचस्य न विद्यत” इत्यादिभगवद्वाक्या^५त्पञ्चात्कर्त्तव्य-
 मिति च प्रथममेव कथं नेति, सत्यमेतत्, परन्तु एषा श्ववृत्तिरपि

१ म० । ‘अरिम्’ ।

२ म० । ७ । १७५ ।

३ म० । ० गुह्यं यथा ।

४ म० । ७ । १७६ ।

५ म० । ‘स युद्धमेव ... निर्वितर्कः’ ।

६ म० । गीता । २ । ३१ ॥ पुस्तकत्रये ‘धर्माद्धि युद्धः’ पाठो न
 समीचीनः ।

धर्म्यैव वचनात् प्रथमोक्तश्रुतिस्मृतिबलात् स्वरक्षापूर्वकमेव यशः
प्रशस्तम् । प्रथमयुद्धे निन्दा चेति तदाह मनुरेव^१

उपजय्यानुजपेद्बुधेतैव^२ च तत्क्षतम् ।

युक्ते च दैवे^३ युध्येत जयप्रेषुरपेतभीः ॥

साम्ना दानेन भेदेन समस्तैरथवा पृथक् ।

विजेतुं प्रयतेतारीन् न युद्धेन कदाचन ॥

अनित्यो विजयो यस्माद् दृश्यते युध्यमानयोः ।

पराजयश्च संग्रामे तस्माद्युद्धं विवर्जयेत् ॥

तथा ।^४

सर्वोपायैस्तथा कुर्यान्नीतिज्ञः पृथिवीपतिः ।

यथास्याऽभ्यधिका न स्युर्मित्रोदासीनश्चवः ॥

आयतिं^५ सर्वकार्याणां तदालं च विचारयेत् ।

अतीतानां च सर्वेषां गुणदोषौ च तत्त्वतः ॥

आयत्यां^६ गुणदोषज्ञस्तदाले क्षिप्रनिश्चयः ।

अतीते कार्यशेषज्ञः शत्रुभिर्नाभिभूयते ॥

मित्रोदासीनश्चव इति द्वादशराजमण्डलाभिप्रायेण [I] तदाह

यान्नवस्त्यः ।

१ म० । ७ । १६७-६६ ।

२ पुस्तकत्रये ऽप्येत बुद्धेचैवेति अष्टः पाठः ।

३ देवैरिति पुस्तकत्रये ।

४ म० । १७७-७६ ।

५ आयन्तिमिति पुस्तकेषु ।

६ पुस्तकेषु आयन्यामिति ।

अरिर्भिन्नमुदासीनोऽनन्तरस्तत्परः परः^१ ।

क्रमशो मण्डलं चिन्त्यं सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः ॥

मनुः^२ ।

मध्यमस्य प्रचारं च विजिगीषोश्च चेष्टितम् ।

उदासीनप्रचारं च शत्रोश्चैव प्रयत्नतः ॥

एताः प्रकृतयो मूलं मण्डलस्य समासतः ।

अष्टौ चान्याः समाख्याताः द्वादशैव तु ताः स्मृताः ॥

अस्यार्थः । विजिगीषुनृपस्य चतुर्दिक्षु क्रमशोऽरिभिर्मुदासीनास्तथ
एवं द्वादशराजकमण्डलं विजिगीषुणा त्रयोदशकराजकमिति ।
अरिभिर्मुदासीनास्त्रिविधाः सहजकृत्रिमप्राकृतभेदात्, एतद्भिन्नो
नियहानुग्रहसमर्थो मध्यमः, पार्ष्णिशाहाक्रन्दसेवा एषामन्तर्भवन्ति
नौतिशास्त्रे^३ मयमैचविशालाक्षादि-मनुवृहस्पतिशुक्रादि-
मतभेदेन चतुर्विंशत्यधिकत्रिंशतं मण्डलं तद्विस्तरभयाजोक्तम् ।
चिन्तयेदिति शेषः ।

^४वकवत् चिन्तयेदर्थान् सिंहवच्च पराक्रमेत् ।

वृकवच्चानुक्रमेत् शशवच्च विनिष्पतेत् ॥

वकवन्मत्स्यग्रहणे यथा वकः, सिंहवत्प्रबलेऽपि हस्तिनि यथा
पराक्रमेत् तथा, विपक्षे वृकवत् यथा वृकः रक्षितमपि पशुं व्यापा-

१ या० । १ । ३४३ । “ऽन्तरन्तरत्परस्परः” इति “ऽन्तरन्तं परस्परः”

इति च पाठौ रत्नाकरप्रस्तकस्थौ ग्रामादिकौ । २ म० । ७ । १५५-६ ।

३ कामन्दकीये । ८ । २०-३८ । वचनानि द्रष्टव्यानि ।

४ म० । ७ । १०६ ।

दयति दुर्गादिरक्षितमयस्मिं लुप्तेत् व्यापादयेत्, शशवक्ष्या शशः प्राण-
घातकावृत्तोऽपि कुटिलगत्या प्रपलाय्य गच्छति तथा शत्रुपरिवृत्तो
रिपुं प्रतारयन्बलवन्तमन्यमाश्रयेत् ।

१एवं विजयमानस्य यस्य स्युः परिपन्थिनः ।

तानानयेदशं सर्वान् सामादिभिरुपक्रमैः २ ॥

प्रजापालने हेतुमाह ।

३मोहाद्राजा खराष्ट्रं यः कर्षयत्यनवेक्षया ।

सोऽचिराद्भुज्यते राज्याञ्जीविताच्च सबान्धवः ॥

शरीरकर्षणात् प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते प्राणिनां यथा ।

तथा राज्ञामपि प्राणाः क्षीयन्ते राष्ट्रकर्षणात् ॥

तत्प्रकारमाह ४ ।

यथोद्धरति निर्दाता कचं धान्यं च रक्षति ।

तथा रक्षेन्नृपो राष्ट्रं हन्याच्च परिपन्थिनः ॥

निर्दाताच कषौबलः, कचं दणसमूहं, उद्धरति समुत्पाटयति ।

अधिकारिण आह ५ ।

द्वयोस्त्रयाणां पञ्चानां मध्ये गुल्मप्रतिष्ठितम् ६ ।

तथा ग्रामशतानां च कुर्याद्ग्राहस्य संग्रहम् ॥

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्याद्ग्रामपतिं तथा ।

विंशतौशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

१ म० । ७ । १०७ ।

२ उपक्रमेदिति पुस्तकत्रये ।

३ म० । ७ । १११-११२ ।

४ म० । ७ । ११० ।

५ म० । ७ । ११४-५ ।

६ म० । 'गुल्ममधिष्ठितम्' ।

राष्ट्रस्य संग्रहं राष्ट्ररास्थानम् । एकस्य दशानां विंशतेः शतस्य
सहस्रस्य वा ग्रामाधिपतिमेकं कुर्यात् लाघवगौरवापेक्ष उक्तविकल्पः ।

१ ग्रामे दोषान् २ समुत्पन्नान् ग्रामिकः शनकैः स्वयम् ।

ग्रंसेद् ग्रामदशेशाय ३ दशेशो विंशतीशने ॥

विंशतीशस्तु सत्सर्वं शतेशाय निवेदयेत् ।

ग्रंसेद् ग्रामशतेशस्तु सहस्रपतये स्वयम् ॥

एते पालने स्वयमसमर्थाः परस्मै निवेदयेयुरिति ।

४ ग्रामि राजप्रदेशानि प्रत्यहं ग्रामवासिभिः ५ ॥

अत्र ६ पानेन्धनादीनि ग्रामिकस्तान्यवाप्नुयात् ।

दशौ हलं तु ७ भुञ्जीत विंशी पञ्चहलानि ८ च ॥

ग्रामं ग्रामशताध्यक्षः सहस्राधिपतिः पुरम् ।

तेषां ग्राम्याणि कार्याणि पृथक्कार्याणि चैव हि ॥

राज्ञोऽन्यस्तच्चिवः स्निग्धस्तानि पश्येदतन्त्रितः ९ ।

नगरे नगरे चैकं कुर्यात्सर्वार्थचिन्तकम् ।

उच्चैःस्थानं घोररूपं नक्षत्राणामिव ग्रहम् ॥

१ म० । ७ । ११६-७ ।

२ (क) । 'ग्रामादायान्' ।

३ शतेशाय । इति पुस्तकत्रये ।

४ म० । ७ । ११८-१२१ ।

५ (क) । 'ग्रामराशिभिः' ।

६ (क) । (ख) । अनु० ।

७ म० । कुलं तु । इति ॥

८ म० । 'पञ्चकुलानि' ।

"कुलं ग्रामैकदेशः..... इति कल्पतरुः । अन्ये तु कुलं हलद्वयकृष्टा
भूः । 'कुलं तु द्विगुणं हलम्' इति स्मरणात् । ... 'अष्टागवं धर्म्यहलम्'
...इति द्वाशीतस्मरणात्" । इति मित्रमिश्रः राजनीतिप्रकाशे । पृ० २५१ ।

९ म० । 'अतन्त्रितः' ।

राजप्रदेयानि राज्ञो देयानि, दशौ दशग्रामाधिपः तेषामियं
वृत्तिरित्यर्थः ।

१ राज्ञो हि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः ।

मृत्या भवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्यो रचेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

ये कार्ष्णिकेभ्यो^२ ऽर्थमेवं गृह्णीयुः पापचेतसः ।

तेषां सर्वस्वमादाय राजा कुर्यात् प्रवासनम् ॥

प्रवासनं देशात्तेषां निष्काशनम् । एवं बहुविधप्रजापालनप्रकारं
संचिष्याह यान्नवत्क्यः^३ ।

ब्राह्मणेषु चमौ क्षिग्धेष्वजिह्वाः क्रोधनोऽरिषु ।

स्याद्राजाऽऽश्रितवर्गेषु^४ प्रजासु च यथा पिता ॥

अथ राज्ञः समरापलायनादयो धर्मशास्त्रे निगदिताः । अत्र
तु पराङ्मुखस्थार्थहान्यादौतिप्रसङ्गः^५ ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतो राजकृत्यतरङ्गः ।

१ म० । ७ । १२३-२४ ।

२ म० । 'कार्ष्णिकेभ्यः' ।

३ या० । १ । ३३ ।

४ या० । 'मृत्यवर्गे च' ।

५ (क) (ख) । ० हान्यादिति० ।

अथ दण्डः । (C. XIII.)

मनुः^१ ।

तस्यार्थं सर्वभूतानां गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् ।

ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमौश्वरः ॥

तस्य सर्वाणि भूतानि स्थावराणि चराणि च ।

भयाङ्गो गाय कल्प्यन्ते^२ स्वधर्मान्न चलन्ति च ॥

तथा ।

दण्डः शास्ति प्रजाः सर्वाः दण्ड एवाभिरक्षति ।

दण्डः सुप्तेषु जागर्ति दण्डं धर्मं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

समीक्ष्य मध्यतः^३ सम्यक् सर्वा रक्षयति प्रजाः ।

असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्तु विनाशयति सर्वतः ॥

यान्नवल्क्यः^४ ।

तदवाप्य नृपो दण्डं दुर्वृत्तेषु निपातयेत् ।

धर्मा हि दण्डरूपेण ब्रह्मणा निर्मितः पुरा ॥

तदवाप्य राज्यं प्राप्य, पातयेन्नियोजयेत् ।

^५दण्डो द्विविधः । शारीरोऽर्थदण्डश्च । यथाह नारदः^६ ।

शारीरस्यार्थदण्डश्च दण्डश्च द्विविधः स्मृतः ।

शारीरस्ताडनादिस्तु मारणान्तः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

१ म० । ७ । १४-१५ । १८ । १९ । २ म० । 'कल्पन्ते' ।

३ म० । (ग) । 'स दृतः' ।

४ या० । १ । ३५२ ।

५ "दण्डो द्विविधः ... तथैव च" इत्यानुपूर्विकः पाठो मिताक्षराया-
मपि दृश्यते । (या० । १ । ३६१) ।

६ ना० । परिशिष्टे । ५३-५४ ।

काकिन्यादिस्वर्यदण्डः सर्वस्नानस्तथैव च ।

शारीरोऽर्थदण्डश्चापि दशधा [१] तत्तु पल्लवे विसृतम् ।
याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ । “शारीरो दशधा प्रोक्तो ह्यर्थदण्डस्तथैवचेति
मिताक्षरा^२ । शारीरस्ताडनादिर्यर्थदण्डः काकिन्यादिः, कस्मिन्
कियानितिव्यवहारदर्शने नियमितम् । संचिष्य दण्डभेदानाह स एव ।

^३धिग्दण्डस्तथ वाग्दण्डो धनदण्डो वधस्तथा ।

योज्या व्यस्ताः समस्ताश्च ह्यपराधवशादिमे ॥

वाग्दण्डश्चापवचनात्मकः ।

ज्ञात्वापराधं कालं च देशं बलमथापि वा ।

वयः कार्यं च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्डेषु पातयेत् ॥

अपराधानुसारिणो दण्डा इति । दण्डस्य दृष्टादृष्टार्थफलकत्वं
धनदण्डवधदण्डयोरुक्तत्वात् तदाह मनुः^४ ।

सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्लभो हि शुचिर्नरः^५ ।

दण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद् भोगाय कल्पते^६ ।

देवदानवगन्धर्वा रक्षांसि पतंगोरगाः ।

तेऽपि भोगाय कल्पन्ते दण्डेनैव निपीडिताः ॥

दुष्टेयु^७स्सर्ववर्णाश्च भिद्येरन् सर्वमेव तत्^८ [?] ।

सर्वलोकप्रकोपश्च भवेद्दण्डस्य विभ्रमात् ।

१ याज्ञवल्क्यवचनमत्र प्रतितम् ।

२ या० । १ । ३६१ ।

३ या० । १ । ३६५-६ ।

४ म० । ७ । २२-२८ ।

५ ‘शुचो नरः’ । इति पुस्तकेषु ।

६ म० । ‘कल्पं’ ।

७ दुःखेयुः । इति पुस्तकेषु ।

८ म० । ‘सर्वसेतवः’ ।

यत्र श्यामो लोहिताक्षो दण्डश्चरति पापहा ।
 प्रजास्तत्र न मुञ्चन्ति नेता चेत्साधु पश्यति ॥
 तस्याङ्गः संप्रणेतारं राजानं सत्यवादिनम् ।
 समीक्ष्यकारिणं प्राज्ञं धर्मकामार्थकोविदम् ॥
 तं राजा प्रणमेत्सम्यक् त्रिवर्गेणाभिवर्धते ।
 कामात्मा विषमः चुद्रो दण्डेनैव निहन्यते ॥
 दण्डो हि सुमहत्तेजो दुर्धरश्चाज्ञतात्मभिः ।
 धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति नृपमेव सबान्धवम् ॥

यान्नवत्क्यः^१ ।

अधर्मदण्डनं स्वर्गकीर्त्तिलोकविनाशनम् ।

सम्यक् दण्डनं राज्ञां^२ स्वर्गकीर्त्तियशोवहम्^३ ॥

अत्र दण्डनं काम्यमन्यत्र नित्यमतो नित्यकाम्यम् । यत्तु काम्यमेव
 नित्यमेव वा तन्न । तदकरणे

“दण्डोत्सर्गं राजैकरात्रमुपवसेत् त्रिरात्रं पुरोहितः कृच्छ्रम-
 दण्डादण्डने पुरोहितः” इति वसिष्ठवचनेन^४ प्रायश्चित्तश्रवणात् ।

^५यो दण्ड्यान् दण्डयेद्राजा सम्यग्वध्यांश्च पातयेत्^६ ।

इष्टं स्यात् क्रतुभिस्तेन समाप्नवरदक्षिणैः ।

^७दण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वे जगद्भोगाय कल्पते ।

१ मा० । ‘प्रणयान्’ ।

२ या० । १ । ३५५ ।

३ याः । ० राज्ञः ० जयावहम् । इति ।

४ व० । १६ । ४०-४२ ।

५ या० । १ । ३५७ ।

६ या० । ‘घातयेत्’ ।

७ म० । ७ । २२ ।

इत्यादिवज्जतरफलश्रवणाच्च न च सन्ध्योपासनादिवत् फलश्रवणे
नित्यत्वमितिवाच्यं साक्षात्सुखादेरेव फलत्वे विवक्षितत्वात्, अन्यथा
तथोरेकशेषः^१ कर्तुमशक्यत्वात् ।

इति संचिन्त्य नृपतिः क्रतुतुल्यफलं पृथक् ।

व्यवहारान् स्वयं पश्येत्सभ्यैः परिवृतोऽन्वहम् ।

साध्यमूलविवादो व्यवहारः । स तु प्रजानामेव नृपस्य तद्दी-
श्लादिति न राजेश्वरेण न्यायपथादुत्पत्तिकस्य धर्मभङ्गमिथा
व्यवहारो द्रष्टव्य एव विशेष^२पुरस्कारेणान्यथा 'स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपति'
रित्यस्य कृतनिवृत्त्यप्रसङ्गः स्यात् ।

मनुः^३ ।

शुचिना सत्यसन्धेन यथाशास्त्रानुसारिणा ।

प्रणेतुं शक्यते दण्डः सुसहायेन धीमता ॥

शुचिनार्थादिशौचयुक्तेन, सत्यसन्धेन दृढप्रतिज्ञेन ।

^४सोऽसहायेन मूढेन लुब्धेनाकृतबुद्धिना ।

न शक्यो न्यायतो नेतुं सक्तेन विषयेषु च ॥

इति विधिनिषेधौ ॥

इति चण्डेश्वरकृतो दण्डतरङ्गः ॥

१ विशेष इत्यर्थः

२ या० । १ । ३५८ ।

३ "विशेषः" । इति पुस्तकत्रये ।

४ म० । ७ । ३१ ।

५ म० । ७ । ३० ।

अथ राजकृतराज्यदानम् ॥ (C. XIV.)

तत्र मनुः^१ ।

दत्त्वा दानं^२ तु विप्रेभ्यः सर्वदण्डसमु^३च्छित्तम् ।

पुत्रे राज्यं समासज्य^४ कुर्वीत प्रायणं रणे ।

रणमुपलक्षणं मोक्षसाधनोपाय इत्यर्थः । अयमर्थः राजा राज्या-
निस्पृहत्वे ज्येष्ठपुत्राय राज्यं दत्त्वा मोक्षसाधनोपायं कुर्यात् । ननु
पुत्रमात्रोपादाने कथं ज्येष्ठायैवेति चेन्न ।

यदा राजा जरायुक्तो रोगार्तो निस्पृहोऽपि च ।

आसन्नमृत्युं विज्ञाय कुलधर्मं विचारयन् ॥

तदा पौरजनान् सर्वानाहूय मन्त्रयेच्च तैः ।

सप्ताङ्गानि च राज्यानि ज्येष्ठपुत्राय दापयेत् ॥

दापयेत् दद्यात्, “विधाय वृत्तिं बहूनां राज्यं ज्येष्ठाय दापयेदि”ति
राजनीतौ^५ हारीत-नारद-वचनेभ्यः । पुत्र इत्येकवचनेनानेक-
स्यासम्भवात् । प्रधान्याज्येष्ठस्य न्याय्यत्वाच्च । अत्रार्थे मनुः^६ ।

यस्मिन्नृणं सन्नयति येन चानन्यमश्रुते ।

स एव धर्मजः पुत्रः कामजानितरान्विदुः ॥

अत्रैवैतदर्थं व्यासः ।

१ म० । ६ । ३२३ ।

२ म० । (ख) । धनमिति ।

३ म० । ‘सर्वं दण्डसमुत्थितम्’ ।

४ म० । ‘समासज्य’ ।

५ न हि कामन्दकनीतौ हारीतनारदवचनानि सन्ति । एषा
ऽपरैव राजनीतिः काचित् ।

६ म० । ६ । १०७ ।

शाश्वतोऽयं स्मृतो धर्मः पार्थिवानां नरर्षभ ।

न यवीयान् स्थिते ज्येष्ठे राजा भवितुमर्हति ॥

यवीयान् कनिष्ठः शाश्वतोऽयमिति सनातनोऽनादिपरम्परागत-
धर्मोऽयं पार्थिवानामित्यन्वयः । भारते^१ ।

कथं ज्येष्ठानतिक्रम्य कनीयान्वाज्यमर्हति ।

एतत्सम्बोधयामस्त्वां धर्मं त्वं परिपालय ॥

ज्येष्ठं तिरस्कृत्य कनीयसे राज्यदानमधर्म इति वचनाश्रयः ।

रामायणे^२ ।

न हि राज्ञः सुताः सर्वे राज्ये तिष्ठन्ति भामिनि ।

वैवहनामपि पुत्राणामेको राज्येऽभिषिच्यते ॥

स्थाप्यमानेषु सर्वेषु सुमहाननयो भवेत् ।

तस्माज्ज्येष्ठे हि कैकेचि राज्यतन्त्राणि पार्थिवाः ॥

आसञ्जन्त्य^३ नवद्याङ्गि गुणवत्स्वितरेष्वपि ।

इते च ज्येष्ठाः सुपुत्रेषु ज्येष्ठेष्वेव न संशयः ।

आसञ्जन्त्यखिलं राज्यं न भ्रातृषु कथञ्चन ।

स्थाप्यमानेष्वित्यादियुक्त्या एक एव राजा तत्रापि ज्येष्ठ एवेति
दर्शितम् । आसञ्जन्ति निःक्षिपन्ति तन्त्राणि कार्याणि । अत्रैव
वसिष्ठ-वाक्यम्^४ ।

१ म० भा० । आदि० । ७६ । २२ ।

२ रा० । अयो० । ८ । २३-२४ ।

३ नोपलभ्यते सुप्रितरामायणे ।

४ रा० । स्थापयन्तीति ।

५ रा० । अयो० । ११० । ३६ ।

इत्थाकूणां च सर्वेषां राजा भवति पूर्वजः ।

पूर्वजे नावरः पुत्रो^१ राज्ये समभिषिच्यते ॥

इत्थाकूणामित्युपलक्षणं च शब्दात् । राज्ञामेतत्समं तस्मादि-
त्थाकूणां विशेषत इति पुनस्तत्रैव तेनोक्तत्वाच्च । ननु राज्यदान-
मेकस्मा^२ इ“त्यर्थशास्त्रान्तु बलवद्भूषणशस्त्रमिति^३ स्थिति”रिति
वचनाद्भूषणशस्त्रस्य प्रावत्ये “^४पैतामहं च पितृं च”त्यादिवाक्येन
तस्यापि विभाज्यतेति चेन्न, राज्यमविभाज्यमिति वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् ।
तदुभयान्यथासिद्धौ तद्वचना^५प्रसक्तेः राज्ञा दत्तस्यानिवर्त्यत्वेनापि
राज्यस्याविभाज्यत्वाच्च^६ । अत्र मनुः^७ ।

तस्माद्भूमिं यमिष्टेषु^८ संयवस्तेनराधिपः ।

अनिष्टं चाप्यनिष्टेषु तद्भूमिं विचालयेत् ॥

न विचालयेन्नोल्लङ्घयेत् ।

नारदः^९ ।

अस्वतन्त्राः प्रजाः सर्वाः स्वतन्त्रः पृथिवीपतिः ।

‘स्वातन्त्र्यमप्रतिहतेच्छत्वं राजा महीपति’रिति कामधेनौ स्पष्टम् ।
न च “भूर्ये”त्यादिवचनेन क्रमागते राज्ये स्वाम्यसाम्यात्स्वार्जितं
राज्यं देयमितिवाच्यं तेषां मुनिभिरविशेषेणोपादेयत्वात् क्रमागत-
राज्यदान एव वसिष्ठाद्युक्ते ‘लोकवृत्ताद्राजवृत्तमन्यदाह बृहस्पति’
रिति वचनान्तेषां राज्यातिरिक्तपरत्वाच्च । राजकृतं प्रमाणमत्र हेतुमाह

१ रा० । ‘ज्येष्ठो राजाभिषिच्यते ।’

३ या० । २ । २१ ।

५ वचनप्रसक्तेः । इति पुस्तकत्रये ।

७ म० । ७ । १३ ।

९ ना० । ऋ० । ३३ ।

२ (ख) एकस्मिन्नपी० ।

४ पिता० इति पुस्तकत्रये ।

६ (क) । (ख) । अविभाज्य० ।

८ पुस्तकत्रये-‘यमिष्टेषु’ ।

१० या० । २ । १२१ ।

मनुः^१ ।

सोमिर्भवति वायुश्च सोमः स धर्मराट् ।

स कुबेरस्तु वरुणस्तु महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥

बालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।

महती देवता ह्येषा नररूपेण तिष्ठति ॥

कात्यायनः ।

क्षयोदयो^२ जीवनं च राजदैववशान्मृणाम् ।

तस्मात् सर्वेषु कार्येषु तत्कृतं न विचालयेदिति ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र राज्यदानतरङ्गः ॥

अथ पुरोहितादिष्ठतराज्यदानम् ॥ (C. XV.)

राज्यमदत्तैव राज्ञि मृते राजपुत्राय पुरोहितमन्त्रिभिरपि
राज्यं दातव्यं वैदिकलौकिककर्मसु^१ राजप्रातिनिध्यात् । ब्रह्म
ज्येष्ठायेति सम्प्रदायः । ननु राजपरोक्षे राजपुत्रस्यैव राज्यं कथं
तैर्दातव्यमिति चेन्न तैरेव न ग्राह्यमधर्मश्रवणादित्यभिप्रायात् ।
'अत्र विवादपरिहारार्थ'मिति लक्ष्मीधरः । 'राज्यभङ्गभिधे'ति
पल्लवकारः । राजनीतौ नारदः^२ ।

ज्येष्ठो नरकनिस्तारो लोकपूज्यतमः स्मृतः ।

ज्येष्ठो रत्नाकरः प्रोक्तो राज्यार्क्षे ज्येष्ठ एव हि ॥

राजनीतौ शुक्रः^३ ।

राज्यं पुरो विवाहं च सपिण्डीकरणं पितुः ।

गुणवत्सु कनिष्ठेषु ज्येष्ठ एव समर्हति ॥

इदं बार्हस्पत्यपद्मयोरपि ।

भागवते^४ ।

^५शुमन्तुर्ब्राह्मणैरुक्तः परिवेत्ता त्वमग्रभुक् ।

राज्यं देह्यग्रजायाश्च पुरराष्ट्रविवृद्धये ॥

तथा च राज्ययोग्ये ज्येष्ठे सति स एव राजा तदभावे कनिष्ठः,
तदभावे राजवंशः । अत्र ज्येष्ठः पिता यस्य प्रथमं मुखं पश्यति स
एव तेन वैमान्येयस्यापि संग्रहः । न विवाहसाहचर्यात्सोदरपरनियमः

१ (क) (ग) । ०धर्मसु ।

२ नास्ति नारदीये धर्मशास्त्रे ।

३ नास्ति सुप्रितशुक्रनीतौ ।

४ भाग० । ६ । २२ । १५ ।

५ भाग० । "शुमन्तुः" ।

पितुः सपिण्डीकरणसाहचर्यात् अन्यथा रामायणे रामादीनुपलक्ष्य
वसिष्ठादिवाक्यखालग्रतापत्तिः स्यात् किञ्च 'स्थापमानेध्वित्यादि'^१
युक्तिः समैव चेति तत्त्वम् । अतएव राज्यमविभाज्यमाह मनुः^२ ।

वस्त्रं पत्रमखङ्गारं कृतान्नसुदकं स्त्रियः ।

योगक्षेमं प्रचारं च न विभाज्यं प्रचक्षते ॥

योगक्षेमं मन्त्रिपुरोहितादि^३ । कैचित्तु नौकादि तत्र, 'योगक्षेमं
स्मृतं राज्यमिति' क्रीडात् । राज्यमाह[तुः] मनुविष्णु^४ । खान्य-
मात्यसुहृत्कोषदण्डदुर्गराष्ट्रप्रकृतयः^५ । एतत्सप्ताङ्गकं राज्यमुच्यते ।
सुहृत्पुरोहितः^६ । दण्डस्तेना । याज्ञवल्क्यः^७ ।

खान्यमात्यो जनो दुर्गं कोषो दण्डस्तथैव च ।

मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते ॥

जनः प्रजाः, मनुवचनैकवाक्यतया मित्राणि राष्ट्राणि^८ ।

नारदः^९ ।

स्त्रीधनं च नरेन्द्राणां न कदापि च जीर्यति ।

१ रा० । अयो० । ८ । २३ ।

२ म० । ६ । २१६ ।

३ 'योगक्षेमं यतो योगे क्षेमं भवति मन्त्रिपुरोहितामात्यसुहृत्वास्तु-
चारादिभ्यस्ततो रक्षा भवति ।' इति मेधातिथिः । 'योगो राजादिलभ्यो-
निबन्धादिः स्वयमुपात्तः क्षेमः रक्षोपायः प्राकारेणकादिः' । इति सर्व-
ज्ञनारायणः ।

४ म० । ६ । २६४ । वि० । ३ । ३३ ।

५ ०राष्ट्राणि प्रकृतय इति पठनीयम् ।

६ इत्यसमौचीनम् । सुहृन्मित्रमिति । अतादुर्गार्थस्याभावादर्थशास्त्रे ।

मित्रलक्ष्यं च द्रष्टव्यमर्थशास्त्रे ।

७ या० । १ । ३५१ ।

८ प्रामादिकमेतत् । जनः राष्ट्रं, पुरं दुर्गमिति मनुवचनैकवाक्यता ।

९ ना० । अ० । ८३ ।

स्त्रीधनं सौदायिकं, नरेन्द्रधनं राज्यम् । कात्यायनः ।
 “निबन्धो यः कमागतः” । तथा च । धर्मशास्त्रेऽपि राज्यमविभाज्य-
 मित्येवमर्थशास्त्रे ज्येष्ठ एव राजा भवेदित्युभयोरविरोधः । तर्हि
 लोकवृत्ताद्वाजवृत्तस्य को भेद इति, नेतव्यम् ।

विकारं याति पुत्रोऽपि राज्यलोभाद्यथा पिता ।

तस्मैकवृत्तान्पतेरन्यद् वृत्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

इति शुक्रवचनेन^१ भेदप्रतीतिः ।

राजधने दीनानायादिसकलप्राणिनामंशितं वज्रनायकलाट्रा-
 ज्यविनाशश्चेत्युक्तिरिति गोपाल-लक्ष्मीधर-श्रीकरादयः ।
 अर्थप्रदीपे व्यासः ।

पूर्वजन्मार्जितं पापमुपभोक्तुमिह ब्रजेत् ।

राज्ञो द्वितीयकः पुत्रस्तृतीयो यदजासुतः ॥

उत्पत्तिकालादारभ्य सदा तौ दुःखभागिनौ ।

एतन्मूलक एव लोके तदुद्घोष इति । तथा च ज्येष्ठगामित्वम-
 विभाज्यत्वं राज्यस्येति बुद्ध्या पुरोहितादिनापि राज्यदानं कर्त्तव्य-
 मिति प्रकरणार्थः ॥

इति श्रीचण्डेश्वरकृतोऽत्र पुरोहितादिकृतराज्यदानतरङ्गः ॥

१ गोपालभ्यते शुक्रनीती ।

अथाभिषेकः ॥ (C. XVI.)

राजनीतौ ।

यौवराज्येऽथवा राज्ये यदि राजा विमत्सरः ।

अभिषिच्य^१ विधानेन धर्मजं वीक्ष्य लक्षणम् ॥

तत्सुतं तत्कनिष्ठादिक्रमात्कामजमात्मजम् ।

सन्निवृष्टान्वयं चान्यं प्रजाविप्रानुमोदितम् ॥

युवराजेति वृद्धराजसापेक्षं वृद्धराजपरतन्त्र इत्यर्थः । विमत्सरो विगतराज्यमात्सर्यः, धर्मजं ज्येष्ठं, कामजं कनिष्ठं, तथा च यदि राजलक्षणं ज्येष्ठे तदा ज्येष्ठमेव तदभावे^२ ज्येष्ठपुत्रस्य ज्येष्ठमेव पुत्रत्वम् ।

“तेऽपि ज्येष्ठाः स्वपुत्रेषु ज्येष्ठेभ्येव न संग्रहः” ।

इति वचनात् तदभावे यथाक्रमं कनिष्ठं तदभावे सन्निवृष्ट-
सन्तानम् । सन्निवृष्टान्वयमिति । ‘सन्निहितसम्बन्धिमात्र’मिति
पल्लवः । ‘तदंशमेवे’ति लक्ष्मीधरः^३ । तदभावेऽन्यमप्यभिषिञ्चेत् ।
न च पिण्डदातरि पुत्रे सति पौत्राभिषेकस्यान्याय्यत्वमतौ नात्र
क्रमादरः । पुत्रपौत्रादौ पिण्डदाहत्वेनाविशेषात् अतएव पौत्रे
समांशिताविधानमिति । किं‘ज्ञात्मा वै जायते पुत्र’ इति तत्स्वरूप-
त्वात्^४ वस्तुतस्तु “राजवृत्तमन्यदि”^५तियुक्तिरेव बलवतीति ।

१ (ख) । (ग) । ‘अभिषिञ्चेत्’ ।

२ तदभावे ज्येष्ठपुत्रस्येत्यारभ्य लक्ष्मीधर इत्यन्तः पाठः (ख-) पुस्तके
नास्ति ।

३ (ख-) पुस्तके—‘व्यवहित योजनां पत्ते (योजनापत्ते०?)’स्वेत्यधिकः
पाठ उपलभ्यते ।

४ राजदानतश्ङ्गे (१४) उदाहृतम् ।

कृतनित्यक्रियो राजा स्वयं वास्य पुरोहितः ।
 शुक्ले वसानो वसने प्रविशेद्यज्ञमण्डपे ॥
 सौवर्णं स्थापयेत्तत्र कलशं दृढमग्रतः ।
 पूरयेत्सर्वतीर्थाङ्घ्रिर्गाङ्गेन पयसाऽथवा ॥
 वारुणेनाभिमन्त्र्यान्तः क्षिपेत्सर्वौषधीस्ततः ।
 पञ्चभिः पल्लवैश्चनमुखे वरुणमर्चयेत् ॥
 अथ विष्णुमुमामीशं गणगृहदिगोश्वरान् ।
 पूजयेज्जुह्यान्मन्त्रैराज्येनैव सक्तसक्तत् ॥
 विद्वज्य तान् सभामध्ये व्याघ्रचर्मोपरिस्थितम् ।
 सुहृद् विप्रवणिग्वीथीमन्त्रिसम्बन्धिसन्निधौ ॥
 अभिषिञ्चेच्छान्तिमन्त्रैः पल्लवानौततज्जलैः ।
 ततः सिंहासने राजा कुमारमुपवेशयेत् ॥
 सक् चन्दनपटोष्णीषमणिमुक्तादिभूषणैः ।
 चामरव्यजनच्छत्रपद्मद्वीपादुकादिभिः ॥
 अलङ्कृत्य सुदा तस्मै षडङ्गं^१ राज्यमर्पयेत् ।
 पादाङ्गुष्ठेन तिलकं त्रिवारमलिके न्यसेत् ॥
 मूर्ध्नि दूर्वाचतं दद्याद्दधिलानांश्च दर्शयेत् ।
 'अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजाऽयं रक्षतु प्रजाः' ॥
 इति सर्वान् [सर्वम्?] प्रजाविष्णुं साक्षिणं^२ आवयेन्मुहुः ।

१ स्वामि सहितं सप्ताङ्गम् । अत्र षडङ्गं स्वामिव्यतिरिक्तम् ।

२ (क) । (ग) । 'साक्षिणः' ।

गाङ्गेन गङ्गाजलेन, पयसा गोक्षीरेण, गाङ्गेन पयसा गङ्गाजलेन,
वा शब्दोऽत्र व्यवस्थितविभाषेति केचित्; वारुणेन वरुणेन मन्त्रेण,
गणो गणपतिः, ग्रहपदेन नवग्रहाः मन्त्रैस्तत्तद्देवतामन्त्रैः, 'सुरास्त्रा-
मभिषिञ्चन्ति'त्यादिशान्तिमन्त्रैः, पल्लवानीततज्जलैः कलशमुखचित्र-
पञ्चपल्लवाहतजलैः, सिंहासन(?)ने) राजासन(?)ने) कुमारमित्य-
स्याभिषिञ्चेत् [इति] तात्पर्यं^१, पन्नङ्गी उपानत्, षडङ्गं मन्त्रिसुह-
त्कोषदुर्गराष्ट्रबलात्मकम्, अलिके ललाटे, न्यसेद्द्यादित्यर्थः, अद्ये-
त्याद्यर्थं आवयेत् ।

रामायणे^२ ।

सकृत्य द्विजमुख्यानां श्वः प्रभाते प्रदीयताम् ।

एतं च दधिलाजांश्च^३ दक्षिणाश्चापि पुष्कलाः ॥

सूर्यभ्युदितमात्रे तु भविता पुण्यवाचनम्^४ ।

अत्र ब्राह्मणेभ्यो एतदधिलाजदानं पुण्यवाचनं चेति विशेषः ।
ब्राह्मणभोजनमप्यत्रैव "ब्राह्मणाश्चनिमग्न्यन्ता"मिति^५ । अस्य प्रयोगो
मङ्गुरुपद्धतौ । विल्लरोऽस्य पल्लवे । 'अलङ्कृत्य सुदा तस्मै षडङ्गं
राज्यमर्पयेत् । पादाङ्गुष्ठेन तिलकं त्रिवारमलिके न्यसे'दिति
दृष्टार्थमन्यत्तद्दृष्टार्थम् । मनावभिषेकं विनापि राज्यदानविधानात्
तथा सम्प्रदायाच्च । कोषकारमते 'राज्यदानोपलक्षकं तिलक-
दानादि तेन तद्विनापि तद्भवत्येव श्वपुच्छन्याया'दिति । गोपालमते

१ अभिषेचे तात्पर्यमिति (ख) पुस्तके पाठः ।

२ रा० । अयो० । ३ । १५-१६ । ३ (ख) । रा० । ०लाजाश्च ।

४ रा० । ०श्वो भविता स्वस्तिवाचनम् ।

५ रा० । अयो० । ३ । १६ ।

त्वभिषेकादिपर्यन्तमुपलक्षणं यथादेशकुलाचारं सिंहासनदानादि
तद्व्यवहारादिति । तथा चोक्तविधानेनोत्तमः, तिलकदानमात्रेण
मध्यमः । अन्येनाप्यनुक्तप्रकारेणाधमः कल्प्य इति । न चाधमकल्या-
नादर एव युक्त इति ।

जातिदेशकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक्प्रवर्त्तिताः ।

तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रचुभ्यतेऽन्यथे-

त्यादिवचनात् व्यवहारस्य सर्वतोबलवत्तरत्वाच्चेति ।

अथान्ये राजपुत्रा भर्त्तव्याः । नौतौ^१ ।

प्रजात्मश्रेयसे राजा कुर्वीतात्मजरक्षणम् ।

लोलुप्यमानास्तेऽर्थेषु हन्युरेनमलक्षिताः ॥

मनुः^२ ।

भरणं पोष्यवर्गस्य प्रशस्तं स्वर्गसाधनम् ।

नरकं पीडने चास्य तस्माद्यत्नेन तं भरेत् ॥

दत्तुमयत्र भरणम् कारणम् । लोलुप्यमानास्तदुदयमर्थोप-
भोक्तार इति । रक्षणमत्र वशीकरणम् । नौतौ^३ ।

दुष्टं गजमिवोद्दृत्तं कुर्वीत सुखसेवनम्^४ ॥

राजपुत्रः परित्यागं सुदुर्दृत्तोऽपि नार्हति ।

क्लिश्यमानः स्वपितरं परानाश्रित्य हन्ति हि ॥

दुष्टगजं मत्तगजं [मतङ्गजं?], सुखसेवनं सुखिनं सुखं तु

१ कामन्दके । ७ । १ ।

२ का० । लोलुभ्य० ।

३ नोपलभ्यते मानवधर्मशास्त्रे ।

४ का० । ७ । ६ । ७ ।

५ का० । 'सुख-बन्धनम्' । ६ अ० का० । 'परम्' । मै० का० । 'परान्' ।

राजकुलोचितं, परित्यागे ऽर्थधर्मातिक्रमो लोकनिन्दापि स्यादतो
न परित्यागमर्हतीत्यर्थः ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः^१ ।

दत्त्वा निबन्धं भूमिं च^२ कृत्वा लेख्यं च कारयेत् ।

आगामिभद्रनृपतेः^३ परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥

निबन्धं नियतदेयम्, आगामिभद्रनृपतेः भाविभूपतेः, पार्थिव
इति भूपतिस्तस्यैव भूदानाधिकारः, सम्राजादत्तनियतनिबन्धकस्य
भोगपतेर्न भूमिदानाधिकारः पारतन्त्र्यात् । अतएव भूपतेरेव भूमि-
दानाधिकारो न तु भोगपतेरिति मिताक्षरा^४ । तथा च
तेभ्योऽपि लिखितैव राजा दद्यादिति ।

अभिषिक्तः प्रथमं राष्ट्रमेव साधयेत् पश्चादङ्गानि तदाह शुक्रः^५ ।

राज्याङ्गानां च सर्वेषां राष्ट्राङ्गवति संभवः ।

तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन राजा राष्ट्रं^६ प्रसाधयेत् ॥

प्रसाधयेद् व्यवहारदर्शनादिभिः, व्यवहारदर्शनं तु धर्मशास्त्रार्थ-
शास्त्रयोरविरोधेन तदाह नारदः ।

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्राभ्यामविरोधेन मार्गतः^७ ।

निरीक्ष्यमाणो निपुणो^८ व्यवहारगतिं नयेत् ॥

अतएव कात्यायनः ।

१ या० । १ । ३१६ । २ या० । 'दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा' ।

३ या० । ० नृपति० । ४ मि० । या० । १ । ३१८ ।

५ का० । ६ । ३ । नास्ति शुक्रनीतौ

६ अ० । का० 'समुन्नयेत्' । मै० का० । 'प्रसाधयेत्' ।

७ ना० । १ । ३७ । ८ ना० । 'यत्नतः' । ९ ना० । 'निपुणम्' ।

“धर्मशास्त्रार्थकुशलैरर्थशास्त्रविशारदै”

रिति । तथा च नृपस्यैतावत्यर्थकर्त्तव्य[ते]ति निबन्धाभिप्रायः ॥

इति सप्रक्रियमहांसाभिविग्रहिक-ठकुरश्रीवीरेश्वरात्मज-
श्रीचण्डेश्वरविरचिते राजनीतिरत्नाकरेऽभिषेकतरङ्गः ॥

श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणो मम वचो निर्द्वन्द्वरा मत्सरं
दूरौकृत्य विचारयन्तु चतुरा निश्चित्य चेतश्चिरम् ।
मीमांसादिषु पद्धतिप्रभृतिषु व्याख्यासु धर्मार्थयो-
मान्या मञ्जुमनीषिणो महिभुजःसिद्धान्तमन्त्राप्तये ॥
मन्वादिस्मृति-राजनीति-जलधेरादाय संचेपतो
नानानीतिनिबन्धसंमतमतं चित्वा चिराय श्रमात् ।
श्रीचण्डेश्वरमन्त्रिणा विरचितो रत्नाकरो भूभुजा
भाव्योऽसौ सुवि भूतये भगवता मान्यो वदान्योदयात् ॥

समाप्तोऽयं राजनीतिरत्नाकरः ॥

धर्मार्थशास्त्रनिष्णातेन जायसवाल्लोपाङ्गेन श्रीकाशीप्रसाद-
कृतिना पाटलिपुत्रनगरे चक्रवर्त्तिजयार्जराज-
विजयराज्ये १६७७ विक्रमाब्दे संस्कृतः ॥
शुभं भूयात् ॥

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